THE INFALLIBLE TRVE AND ASSVRED VVITCH:

OR,

THE SECOND EDITION, OF THE TRYALL OF *WITCH-CRAFT.*

SHEVVING THE RIGHT AND TRVE METHODE OF THE DISCOVERIE:

WITH A CONFVTATION OF ERRONEOVS VVAIES, CAREFVLLY REVIEWED AND more fully cleared and Augmented.

By IOHN COTTA, Doctor in Phyſicke.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, SIR IAMES LEY KNIGHT and BARONET, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of *ENGLAND*, and to the reſt of the Honourable, Right Reuerend and worthy Iudges.

RIGHT Honourable Lords; I formerly Dedicated a ſmall Treatiſe vnto the Honourable Societie of the reuerend Iudges, who then filled the awfull ſeates of Law and Iuſtice. I aduenture the ſecond time to preſent it, reuiewed, augmented, and cleared from ſome part of that darkneſſe which haply hath hitherto clouded it from bright acceptance. Information tending vnto truths diſcouerie, though from the meaneſt wit or perſon vnto your Lordſhips, cannot be vnacceptable, whom Law doth make the Sentenſers of Trueth; which is the Soule and Sentenſe of the Law. The matter and ſubject propounded is not trifling or vnworthy, nor can be any diſdaine vnto Noble great-

neſſe; nor is vnto any Honourable order more proper then to your Lordſhips. Indeede the difficultie of the matter preſſeth a ſtudious conſideration, an orderly continuall linking and holding together of all materiall circumſtances vnto the maine ſcope, a faithfull and ſtrong memorie, quickneſſe of apprehenſion and ſolide iudgement, but in the end vnto ſuch as are induſtrious and deſirous of Trueth, will yeeld a delightfull and thanke-worthy compenſation thereof. I preſume not to direct or preſcribe, nor doe purpoſely oppoſe any other different opinion, but inoffenſiuely tender my owne vnto the publique good, and hauing meerely deuoted it vnto truth; doe humbly ſubmit it vnto your Lordſhips, the vowed Patrons of right and truth:

Your Lordſhips in all humble

dutie and deſire,

IOHN COTTA.

To

The Printer to the Reader.

THE Author perceiuing his former Tractate or firſt edition thereof, either not diligently read, or not truly by many men vnderſtood, he hath now by a ſecond edition thereof offered more eaſe and light vnto ſuch as are willing to ſearch after truth, both by the addition of many things before omitted, as alſo by this plaine direction vnto all the moſt ſpeciall points in the whole Treatiſe, as followeth.

The contents of the firſt Chapter.

1. *How Knowledge doth come vnto man.*
2. *How mans Knowledge is confined and limited.*

CHAP. II.

1. *That many things are hidden from the Knowledge of all men indifferently by the decree of God and Nature.*
2. *That many things are reuealed vnto the induſtrious learned, which are hidden from the ſlothfull and vnlearned.*

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2. *Good Spirits and euill Spirits how diſcerned.*

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2. *A Witch apparently discouered by the Conduct of the outward sense, and testimony thereof.*
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4. *The difference betweene things meerely imagined or fancied, and things really offered vnto the outward sense truly discerned.*
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6. *How the counterfeit miracles of the diuell may be discerned from the true miracles of God.*

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1. *An assured Witch by euidence of reason conuinced.*
2. *All Spirits that are enquired at, are Diuels.*
3. *Witches may be detected by professedly vndertaking, and vpon promise or couenant performing reuelations and discoueries aboue the power and knowledge of man.*
4. *All men in whom the Diuell doth exercise supernaturall workes or miracles, or by whom he doth vtter supernaturall reuelations, are not simply therefore by necessary consequent of reason to be esteemed. Witches but with some few considerations which therewith conioyned and dewly weighed may infallibly proue their guilt thus: He that vndertaketh reuelations or workes which are truly found supernaturall, and cannot either proue them to be of God, nor to be imposture, nor to be imposed vpon him by the Diuell without his will, allowance, and liking thereof, that man by certaine Demonstration is a Witch or Sorcerer. What Witchcraft is, manifestly described.*

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1. Whether the diſeaſed are bewitched, when and how it is certainely to be knowne, when not, and when men ought to reſt ſatisfied in deſiring ſatisfaction therein.
2. The markes of Witches vulgarly reported, and by oath depoſed to be found in their bodies, how to be tried and knowne from all naturall diſeaſes, among which many are very like vnto them.
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CHAP. XV.

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2. That the declaration by the bewitched of ſecret markes in the bodies of ſuſpected Witches are not iuſtifiable to be admitted as any true or allowable conuictions.
3. That the healing of the bewitched by the compelled touch or action

action of the supposed Witch is no reasonable accusation against any man, as therefore a Witch.

4. That there is no more necessitie of a miraculous detection of Witchcraft, then of any other as hideous and abominable sinne.

5. That the miracles and detections of crying and hideous sinnes by visions and apparitions cannot certainly or assuredly be manifested to be of God, and therefore simply in themselues, though reuealing truth they are not to be trusted or credited alone, but so farre forth as they doe point vnto, or occasion iust and reasonable inquisition.

The conclusion of the whole Treatise inferring the two sorts of manifest Witches generally thorow the whole worke intended and by Demonstration made euident, to be the same, against whom the Law of God was directed, as also that there is no other triall of those Witches, but the meanes and waies in this Treatise before mentioned.

TO

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE Sr. EDVVARD COKE Knight, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of ENGLAND, one of the Lords of His Maieſties moſt Honourable Priuie Councell, and to the reſt of the Honourable right Reuerend and worthy Iudges.

RIght Honourable Lords, where according vnto the direction of good lawes, gracious Soueraignes nobly rule, and loyall Subiects freely obey, there the Common-weale, which is the common good of both, produceth the moſt royall, happy and ſtable Monarchy. If euer any Kingdome hath beene fortunate, to giue a true mirror and example of this happineſſe, this famous Iſland hath beene therein incomparable, wherein ſo many puiſſant Monarchs, ſucceſſiuely ſwaying this Emperiall Diademe, according vnto the ancient Lawes and Cuſtomes of

this Nation, haue ſo many hundreths of yeares gouerned this mighty people in peace and honour at home, and victoriouſly led them in triumphant warre abroad, as by the glorious trumpe of forreine and domeſticke fame and Hiſtorie is not obſcure. The ſplendor of this truth, the iniurious aſperſion of inſufficiencie in our Engliſh lawes, cannot without ſhame or bluſhing guilt behold. Notwithſtanding, ſince in ſome few things to bee wanting, was neuer as yet wanting in the moſt exquiſite lawes, Policie and State that euer hath beene, and ſince the Law of God it ſelfe (though perfect in it ſelfe) through humane imperfection in the true perfection was neuer yet ſeene, giue mee leaue through all lawes and Countries in one particular to wonder at their generall defect. What Law or Nation in the detection of Witches, and Witchcraft, hath as yet euer appeared competent, or from iuſt exception exempt? How vncertaine are among all people differing iudgements? Some iudge no Witches at all, others more then too many, others too few by many, in ſo oppoſite extreames, ſo extreamely oppoſite: I doe not preſume to preſcribe how a law may become more abſolute or perfect, I onely labour & enquire to learne. Among many generall directions by different Authors, diuerſly publiſhed, concerning the perfecting of particular lawes, (as farre as perfection is poſſible vnto humane frailty) *Demoſthenes* in his ſecond Oration againſt *Ariſtogiton*, in my thought doth ſeeme to equall (if not exceede) the moſt exquiſite. Three things

things saith he (as may be plainely out of the forenamed place collected) doe concurre vnto the vpright constitution of euery complete law, whereby it may be held sacred and inuiolate. The first is, that it be εὕρημα μὲν καὶ δῶρον Θεοῦ, that is, that it be the ordinance and gift of God. Secondly, that it be δόγμα φρονίμων ἀνδρῶν, that is, the sage and iudicious decree and counsell of the most wise and prudent. The third is, that it be πόλεως συνθήκημα, that is, the vniuersall consent of the whole state, Citie or countrey. Certainly, the true cause of the forementioned generall lameneſſe, and confusion of Lawes in the proposed case of Witch-craft consisteth herein. First, for that men haue not as yet sufficiently searched the holy Scriptures to finde out that εὕρημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, that is, what is the ordinance of God therein. Secondly, for that men haue not seriously consulted with that wisedome and prudence, which by the light of nature and reason Almightie God hath left discouerable and allowed to be iustly and truly deemed, δόγμα φρονίμων ἀνδρῶν, that is, the sage counsell, determination and decree of the most iudicious, prudent and wise men.

When these two are met and are agreed; namely, the ordinance of God, and the vpright and sincere counsell of the most holy, prudent and wise men, purposely studied, and without superstition exercised therein: then will the happy harmony of all mens hearts become easily tunable thereto, which is, πόλεως συνθήκημα, that is, the common consent of Prince, People, and Countrey. Vnto this faire

worke and building of God: let it not ſeeme preſumption, that I offer this my Moytie of deſire, and good will. I know that in this ſubiect, many ages of learned Authors, haue endleſly varied, many famous Writers haue bin branded with infamous errors, many excellent wits haue run themſelues almoſt out of their wits, & thoſe who haue beſt deſerued, their trembling pens haue niggardly dropped, & timorouſly pointed out any fully, or firmely auouched certainty. It is notwithſtanding no breach of rule of modeſty, but my bounden duty, vnto the accompliſhment and honour of truth, to adde whatſoeuer in my vtmoſt endeauour may be conducible. Neither would my many conflicts, with difficulties in this kinde, hold me excuſed, if ſo oft ſpurred, or rather galled, by ſo frequent exerciſe, practiſe and conuerſation, with perſons in ſo diuers extraordinary manners afflicted, and ſuppoſed bewitched, it ſhould awake no anſwerable diſpatch or diſplay therein. Let it then ſeeme no wonder, that a man (though leſſe then the leaſt among men) who hath not onely as ſtudiouſly as others laboured the ſame particular, and as diligently therein obſerued, but hath farre more happily bin fortuned then others, with frequent matter, and occurrents worthy obſeruation, and hath alſo beene more plentifully gratified with opportunitie, to inrich his vnderſtanding with variety and worth of obiects, inſtructing his reaſon, and confirming his experience: Let it ſeeme no wonder (I ſay) that a meane wit, thus beyond others furniſhed thereto, may aduenture amiddeſt

ſo

ſo many doubts and ambiguities, wherewith ſo many worthies haue been formerly intangled and perplexed, to auouch and prooue certainty, and demonſtration. In this ſubiect of Witch-craft, by better meanes aduantaged, if beyond former times or Writers, I haue haply propoſed a more direct and certaine Module and Methode of iudging therein, I doe not thereby arrogate vnto my ſelfe, but attribute vnto the meanes, nor derogate from others, whom if the like contingence of the ſame helpes, had as freely and friendly affronted, and the like facilitie had opened as ready acceſſe, I acknowledge in the guilty ſenſe of my owne exiguitie (whether in the outward beauty of words, or inward ſubſtance of vnderſtanding) it had beene eaſie for any man to exceed with ſo good meanes this ſo euill meaneneſſe of my performance. Since then (Right Honourable Lords) the ſubiect it ſelfe, and a pertinent and peculiar vſe therein, doe point vnto your Honours the propertie of this Dedication, vnto whoſe tribunall the Lawes of God and men appeale againſt that foule abominable ſinne, let it not be cenſured pride or preſumption, humbly to preſent vnto your Lordſhip that conſideration and reſolution which beyond my merit or deſert, Occurrents haue freely adminiſtred vnto long-diſtracted meditation. If there may appeare therein ought aduancing truth, or ſeruiceable vnto the Common-weale, vouchſafe for thoſe good reſpects, it may be gracious in your eyes, acceptable and worthy your noble fauours and protection,

againſt the iniuries of aduerſe obdurate cuſtome, ignorance, enuy, and the vulgar indignation of common receiued and deceiued opinion. In the meane ſeaſon, my deuoted heart ſhall deuoutly pray vnto Almightie God for your Lordſhips long life, the multiplication of many happy daies, redoubled honour in your ſeruice of God, your King and Countrey, and after this life, that life which euer laſteth.

Your Lordſhips, in the moſt humble deſire, and tender of his deuotious ſeruice and obſeruance.

IOHN COTTA.

TO

To the Reader.

INgenious Reader, in this ſubiect of Witch-craft which I here preſent vnto thee, thou art not ignorant, what obſcuritie, difficultie, difference, contrarietie and contradiction hath among Authors and learned men in all ages ariſen. From the offuſion of generall ignorance, or ſuperſtitious blindneſſe herein, willing to withdraw the vulgar illuſion; I haue endeauoured Demonſtratiuely to declare what portion of ſome more certainty in ſuch vncertainties, God & Nature hath deſtined and allowed. It is not any worth either arrogated vnto my ſelfe, or derogated from others, but my ſtudious deſire and vehement affection in this particular, together with ſome ſpeciall experience and paines vpon diuers occurrents, and occaſions extraordinarily hapning, that hath drawne me forth to offer my opinion as the widdowes mite, more haply in good will, and hearty affection, then in true value or deſerued eſteeme. If it may only giue occaſion vnto a more exquiſite penſell, it is the heigth of my intention, and a complete recompence of my endeauour. For this cauſe, and for common eaſie reading and apprehenſion, I haue purpoſely auoided, and diſcontinued the ſmooth thrid of a continued laboured ſtile, and haue for the moſt part preferred and inſerted a plaine texture, of a more vulgar and careleſſe phraſe and word. The enuious haply may cauill,

that

that a Phyſition out of his owne ſuppoſed precincts, ſhould ruſh into ſacred liſts, or enter vpon ſo high points of Diuinitie, as by an vnauoidable intercurrence, doe neceſſarily inſert themſelues in this propoſed ſubiect. Diuinitie it ſelfe doth herein anſwer them. In the theory of Theologie, it is the dutie and praiſe of euery man, to be without curioſitie fruitfully exerciſed.

For as touching matter of Diuinitie, as it falleth out, or is incident in the diſcourſe of this ſmall Treatiſe, I onely propound ſuch reaſons and conſiderations therein, as in common are allowable and commendable in euery Chriſtian man, and therein I doe neither vſurpingly controule others, nor controulingly conclude my ſelfe, but willingly ſubmit vnto the graue cenſure and dictature of the learned and reuerend Diuine. If therefore (good Reader,) I haue here publiſhed or communicated vnto thee ought thankes-worthy, as it is by me freely intended vnto thee; ſo let it not from me be vnfriendly extended by thee. If I haue in ought erred, let it be thy praiſe and goodneſſe to make thy vſe thereof without abuſe. If thou haſt formerly thought amiſſe, and doeſt here reade that is more right, be not aſhamed to acknowledge thy better knowledge. If thou liſt not to know, then know, that truth ſhall iudge thee, and iuſtifie her ſelfe without thee.

Thy well-willing friend.

IOHN COTTA.

THE

THE TRIALL OF WITCH-CRAFT:

Shewing, the true and right Methode of the Discouerie.

CHAP. I.

Of naturall knowledge, and how it is solely acquired, either by Sense, or Reason, or by artificiall and prudent coniectation.

AS there is one onely Infinite, which hath created all things finite: so is there one onely finite, most neerely like vnto that Infinite, which is wisedome and knowledge in men & Angels. The knowledge which is giuen to Angels, is only known to God & Angels. The knowledge which is giuen to man, is knowne by man, limited, measured and confined. It is therefore by the most wise Philosophers and fathers of former times, & the Sages of later times and ages agreed, by a generall consent & harmony of the same truth, that all things which are allotted man to know or vnderstand, are by two waies, or instruments solely to be atchiued or hoped. The first of these is the inward vnderstanding: the second is the outward sense. The vnderstanding hath knowledge diuers waies. First immediatly, by an inbred Idea & vnderstanding of certaine generall notions common vnto all men,

Scalig. de Subtil. Exercit. 307. sect. 22.

men, and in them, and with them borne. This, though intellectuall, may bee in some sort assimulated vnto that naturall instinct in bruit creatures; by which, when they come first into the world, yet immediately by the direction of Nature, they refuse, and flie from that which is euill and harmefull, and seeke and know that which is needfull vnto their life and preseruation. Secondly, the vnderstanding hath knowledge by ratiociation, by the discourse and vse of reason. By this ratiocination, we doe in many things gaine a [b] certainety of knowledge; in other some a probability and likelihood onely of certainety, yet oft-times in a very great neerenesse [c] and affinitie with certaintie. Knowledge likewise commeth by the outward senses, which doe certainely and vndoubtedly informe the vnderstanding concerning their seuerall proper obiects, where the facultie is sound, and the instruments of sense, and the outward meanes of conueyance are rightly disposed.

Among these fiue senses, the sight and hearing, the eye and eare, are the most excellent and chiefe wayes of multiplication and increase of naturall knowledge. Besides these wayes of knowledge; namely, the inward and the outward sense, there neuer was, nor euer can be enumeration of any other. For this cause the Philosophers haue diuided all things that are incident vnto mankinde, to know or vnderstand; either vnto such things as immediatly [d] in their very first thought or mention do proue themselues, & at the first consideration or sight are euident vnto all men; or such as are directly inferred and necessarily proued by other propositions, or such as by prudent ghesse onely and likely coniecture giue a faire probability of truth and certainty. Such things as immediatly proue themselues, and are vndoubted, in their first view, are subiect either to the sense onely, or vnto the vnderstanding onely. Such things as are only proper to the sense, and thereto immediatly and properly subiect, are things seene, heard, touched, tasted, smelt; as colours, figures, lineaments, sounds, musike, hardnesse, softnes, drines, moisture, roughnesse, smoothnesse, sowre, sweete, diuersity of odours

Omnis syl-
gismus, vel
gularis, &
cta ratioci-
atio est vel
emonstrati-
a, vel diale-
tica, Aristot.
b. Analyt.
Dialecticus
llogismus,
el ratiocina-
o ex propo-
tionibus Di-
lecticis, vel
robabilibus,
cet non cer-
a vt demon-
tratiuus, syl-
ogismus, ta-
men vera in-
icia consti-
uit, ideoq; est
erarum opi-
nionum fons,
Aristot. ibid.
d Hinc Syllo-
gismi perfecti
& imperfecti
ratio ex Ari-
stot.

odours and the like: in which, without the vſe of the fiue ſenſes, men cannot be ſenſible or know any thing in this inferiour world vnder the heauens. Such things as are ſubiect vnto the vnderſtanding onely, and not vnto the ſenſe, and immediatly proue themſelues, are generall notions and receptions, inſeparably fixed in the vnderſtanding of all men. Of this kind are theſe poſitions in Philoſophie. All things that are made, haue their matter, [a] out of which they were made, haue their ſpeciall formes and difference, by which they are a part that they are: and laſtly to that being, which they are, are riſen from that which they were not. Likewiſe, theſe poſitions in Logicke: Euery propoſition is true or falſe, affirmatiue or negatiue, and extendeth generally vnto all vnder the ſame kinde, or to ſome particulars, or to a ſingular, or is indefinite. Likewiſe, in Arithmaticke theſe: One is no number, one cannot be diuided, or is indiuiſible; foure is more then two. Likewiſe, in Phyſike theſe: Euery man is ſicke or healthfull, or a neuter: Contraries are cured by contraries, as heat by cooling, cold by heating, moyſture by drying, dryneſſe by moyſting. As in theſe named Sciences, ſo in all other; there are the like generall notions, immediatly at the firſt view prooving themſelues vnto the vnderſtanding, and euery man in common ſenſe and reaſon, immediatly conſenteth vnto their truth; and he that denieth it, or ſeeketh proofe therof, is eſteemed iuſtly madde, or voyd of reaſon.

[a] Materiam Forman. Priuationem

There are other things alſo ſubiect vnto the vnderſtanding onely, which do not immediatly vpon the firſt view or conſideration (as the former) proue themſelues, but are proued by others more cleere and euident then themſelues; as this propoſition. The motion of the heauens is not infinite. This is not manifeſt vnto euery man at firſt view, but requireth another more manifeſt then it ſelfe, to make it manifeſt thus: That which hath a certaine limitted courſe, circumuolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Aſtronomie for many thouſands of yeares hath diſcouered the courſes, periods, reuolutions, and ſet perambulations of the heauens, and therefore the motions of the heauens cannot be infinite. It

may here easily be obserued, how the first position being vnable to proue it selfe, another more manifest doth giue it light, and doth deduce it vnto that, which doth so immediately proue it selfe vnto common sense, and reason, and obseruation of all ages and times, that no idiot can be ignorant, or will deny it.

Thus hath bin manifested, how some things are immediatly vnderstood in the very first consideration & view: some are proued by themselues, some not proued by themselues, but made euident by others. As many things are in the former kinds & seuerall maners manifested, and euidently proued vnto reason, sense, or vnderstanding: so are there many things neither by themselues nor by other euident, neither to the vnderstanding and reason, or to the outward sense at the first apparent, but remaine ambiguous and doubtfull. In these things certainty of knowledge by manifest proofe failing, there remaineth no other refuge, but prudent and artificial coniecture, narrowly looking & searching thorow probabilities, vnto the neerest possibilitie of truth & certainty.

Fom hence doe arise excellent vses and benefits vnto vnderstanding, though not so farre forth ofttimes gained, as is desired vnto all priuate ends, yet so farre forth, as maketh wise and vnderstanding men excell and shine before others. Hence it commeth to passe that in doubtfull cases, counsels and attempts, one man is seene and knowne to ouer shine an other, as much as the glorious Sunne doth his ecclipsed sister, the Moone. Hence haue issued so many noble and heroike Vertues; Sagacitie, exquisitnesse of iudgement, Prudence, Art, in the administration of high affaires. For, although in probabilities are no euident certainties, yet doe they so farre forth oft-times aduantage and aduance vnto the knowledge of certainety, that it is almost equall vnto certainty, and doth perswade and settle discreete resolution and disposition in all affaires. In this consisteth the height, the tope, the som of Art, and the perfection of all humane knowledge, aboue or beyond which, no man could euer soar or kuell. By this light onely the former mentioned meanes

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failing, is oft times gained much excellency of natural knowledge to man, beyond and without which the eye and sight of knowledge in man is sealed vp, his vnderstanding darkned, and cannot know many hidden things. And thus to him that rightly doth meditate and consider, it is vndoubtedly cleere and certaine, how the Creator and infinite Prince of all principles hath founded the beginning & end, the power and *posse* of all knowledge, vpon one of the former waies of inuestigation, beside which there is no naturall knowledge to be expected. Philosophie as yet neuer found other * waies vnto that infinite number of all Arts and Sciences, so admirably flourishing thorow so many ages of the world. For this cause the most excellent & prime Philosopher, *Aristotle*, reiecteth whatsoeuer cãnot be found by Sense, or proued by reason, as spurious. Likewise *Ptolomie* hath bounded the true Art of Astronomie within *fatum Physicum*, within a necessitie in Nature, and to distinguish it from superstition (wherwith curiositie vsually defileth or intangleth it) doth limit it *intra conuenientem naturæ modum*, that is, within proportion and measure answerable to Reason and Nature. For this cause also, all true Philosophers haue determined the two onely instruments of all true Arts, to bee Reason and experience, which *Galen* doth call the two legges whereupon the Art of Physike doth consist. And therefore in the second chapter of his *Finitiones medicæ*, he saith, *Optimus is est Medicus, qui omnia in Medicina recta agit ratione*, that is, hee who doth all things in his subiect of Physike, according to right rule of reason, is the most excellent Physicion.

* Quod non est secundum naturam, non continetur a Scientia, Arist. Anal. poster.

From hence also all true Artists haue defined Art to bee, *Habitus cum ratione factiuus*, that is, a settled habilitie, and promptnesse of action, and operation according to reason. Vpon this ground others haue built other true rules and obseruations, concerning true and lawfull Arts. Therefore (saith *Galen*) *ars non est ex ijs quorum nequaquam est potestas, Isagog. chap.* 5. that is, Art is not of such things as cannot be accomplished. Which is worthy noting, to distinguish prestigious and supposed Arts from true Art. To this o-

thers likewiſe haue added another obſeruation, that is; that Art is imployed about ſuch things as are in reaſon profitable and not vaine. So ſaith *Scaliger*, *exercit.* 37. *Sect.* 31. *Ars non eſt de rebus inutilibus.* It is yet further obſerued vpon the ſame ground, that true Art doeth not confound or cloud it ſelfe in miſts, but reduceth vnto order, light and reaſon, things diſsipate, confuſed, and out of order and reaſon (as *Cicero* affirmeth) *Ars res diuulſas diſſolutaſque conglutinat, & ratione quadam conſtringit.* Vpon the ſame grounds diuers renowmed common weales haue expelled all falſe and forged Arts: as, *Necromancy*, *Aeromancy*, *Geomancy*, with other ſortiligous Diuinations. Vpon the ſame reaſons, diuers Emperors, Kings, Kingdomes and Lawes, haue exploded, cenſured, and condemned all ſuch as vnder pretext of the wholeſome Arts of Aſtronomy, Mathematikes, and the like, haue runne into fooliſh curioſities, impoſtures, and deceitfull practiſes. *Iuſtinian* the Roman Law-giuer and Emperour, his lawes are extant to this purpoſe. Likewiſe *Tiberius* his Decrees for the expulſion of counterfeit *Mathematicians* and *Magicians*. And *Vlpian* in his booke *de Mathematicis & Maleficis*, teſtifieth the publication of their goods, and their inhibition by the Emperours from communion with other Citizens ſo much as in fire or water. And as Reaſon, good Lawes, Kingdomes, Nations, and Common-weales haue diſtinguiſhed ingenuous, liberall, true and profitable Artes, and Sciences builded vpon reaſon, trueth and vnderſtanding; from baſe, ignoble, vnprofitable, needleſſe, curious, and erronious Artes: ſo hath the holy Scripture both iuſtified, ſanctified, and commended the one, and condemned, and nominated with rebuke and ſhame the other. The firſt is euident, *Exod.* 3. *verſe* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. where Almightie God doeth teſtifie concerning the knowledge and skill of workmanſhip in gold, ſiluer, and ſtone, that hee gaue it by his Spirit vnto *Bezaleel*, and *Aholiab*, who were workmen according to knowledge and vnderſtanding in that lawfull Art, profitable vnto the building of Gods houſe. The ſe-

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cond is manifeſt, *Actes 19. verſe 19.* where it is in their due commendations recorded, that thoſe who before vſed and practiſed vaine and curious Arts, when they were by the preaching of the Apoſtles truely conuerted, in token of their vndiſſembled repentance, they abſolutely renounced and diſclaimed their vaine learning, and openly burnt their bookes, though valued at an high rate and rich price.

CHAP. II.

That no Knowledge can come vnto man in any Art or Science, but by Senſe or Reaſon, or likely and artificiall coniecture; is proued by the Science and Knowledge of Phyſike in ſtead of all other Arts and Sciences.

NOw for the better impreſsion of that which hath beene before ſaid: that is, that nothing is or can bee detected, or is liable vnto mans knowledge, which commeth not vnto him by the helpe of Reaſon, the inward or the outward Senſe, Demonſtration, Ratiocination, or iudicious and prudent Coniectation in reaſonable likelihood: let vs examine any one particular, ingenuous, liberall or lawfull Art or Science, in ſtead of many, and therein view, how by the former mentioned keyes, doores and entrances ſolely, are opened the wayes vnto their contemplations, ſtudy, and perfect apprehenſion. And if one Art or Science may bee ſufficient herein, I thinke it moſt fit to chooſe my owne, becauſe as to my ſelfe moſt prompt; ſo vnto any other not vnprofitable. All diſeaſes that happen vnto the body of man are either outward or inward, and therefore either ſeene by the eye, and deprehended by the outward Senſe, or conceiued onely by Reaſon and the inward Vnderſtanding. Inward diſeaſes, and ſubiect onely vnto reaſon and vnderſtanding doe ſometimes appeare clearely and certainely to reaſon and vnderſtanding; ſometimes they doe not appeare certaine, or by certaine notes or ſignes, but by likely markes onely, which are the grounds of artificiall coniecture. And

And as ſome diſeaſes are apparent to outward ſenſe, ſome euident to inward reaſon, ſome by artificiall coniecture onely in learned, exact ſearch and perquiſition purſued vnto their diſcouery: ſo alſo are many diſeaſes hidden from all theſe wayes of inueſtigation, and therefore remaine as remembrances of mans manifold ignorance in this life, and of the ſecret reſeruation of Gods decree and prohibition. As then in thoſe diſeaſes which are apparent vnto ſight, it is blindneſſe in a Phyſicion to make queſtion; in thoſe which are euident to reaſon, to make doubt, is reaſonleſſe fatuitie; in thoſe which may be attained by artificiall coniectation, ſearch or perquiſition, either to be ſlacke, is ſloth, or to bee vnable, is inſufficiencie: ſo in thoſe diſeaſes, which neither outward ſenſe, nor inward reaſon, nor Art, nor artificiall coniecture can poſsibly diſcouer; to hope or ſeeke beyond Senſe and Reaſon, and reaſonable likelihood, is reaſonleſſe and ſenſeleſſe ſtriuing, and impatience of thoſe bounds which God hath ſet to limit the curioſitie of man. For better proofe and illuſtration, it will not bee impertinent to nominate ſome particuler diſeaſes in all theſe kinds. Firſt for outward diſeaſes, and ſuch as are euident to outward ſenſe, they are infinite. Who that is the leaſt practiſed in Phyſicke, doeth not aſſuredly know, when, with his eyes hee doeth behold an inflammation, a Scirrus, a Gangrene, Cancer, Callus, Fiſtula, Vlcer, Leproſie, Pſora, Struma, Petechia, Variola, Iaundes, Gout, Tabeſcence, Extenuation, and the like. Secondly, for inward diſeaſes euident to reaſon; he that is leaſt learned, doth know that all diſeaſes which may be defined, muſt neceſſarily be euident to reaſon; as alſo, that it is not difficult to define innumerable diſeaſes to him that is able to* conioine with the part affected, the true immediate kinde of the affection. The ſtomacke ceaſing her proper function of concoction, or depriued of appetite, doth it not thereby manifeſtly prooue vnto reaſon ſome inward ill affection therein? If with that ill affection bee ioyned a manifeſt inward heate about the region of the ſtomacke, accompanied with an

* Genus morbi proximum, cum parte affecta coniunctum conſtituit morbi ſpeciem.

an Ague, drineſſe, thirſt and other accidents, and conſequences of heate, is not as plainely detected the kinde of the affection to be hot?

Thus both the part affected, which is the ſtomacke apparently (becauſe there the former accidents are found originally moouing and firſt ſeated,) and alſo the ill affection (which by the manifeſt burning heate doth prooue her kinde) being both conioyned, doe truely define the diſeaſe to bee an inflammation of the ſtomacke. The like may bee ſaide of the inflammations of all other inward parts of Pluriſies, Phrenſies, inflammation of the Liuer, Spleene, Wombe, Reines, Guts and other parts, the certaine teſtimonies of exceſsiue heate giuing demonſtration of an inflammation, and the paine (or at leaſt, ſome defect) or defection in the proper offices of the parts manifeſting the parts themſelues. As concerning inward inflammations of diuers parts, ſo likewiſe of inward Vlcers, and other maladies may be inſtanced. The diſeaſe of the bladder is oft certainly knowne, by paine in the part, or by ceſſation of his proper functions, or defection therein, and the kinde of diſeaſe therein by the excretions oft-times proceeding from it. And thus an Vlcer is oft diſcouered in the bladder, by paine, with purulent and ſanguiuolent miction. Diſeaſes likewiſe of the head are certainly diſcouered and detected vnto reaſon, by defects growing; ſometimes in the vnderſtanding, ſometimes in the memory, ſometimes in the imagination, ſometimes in all thoſe together, & ſometimes in the general motion of the whole body. Diſeaſes of the heart likewiſe, appeare by the euill and faulty motions of the pulſe, by ſoundings and defections in liuelihood of the ſpirits and vitall faculty. Diſeaſes of the Wombe or Mother likewiſe doe oft demonſtrate themſelues by depriued or depraued motions. It were tedious to make a particular enumeration of all diſeaſes of this kinde, which are in the ſame manner euident and apparent vnto reaſon.

Now let vs briefly alſo conſider ſome diſeaſes, which are neither euident to Reaſon, nor manifeſt to Senſe; but are gained, detected, and hunted out of their deepe and hidden

courts, by the quicke and exquisite sent of probable and artificiall coniecture; the necessity or vse whereof, either in an ambiguous complication of doubtfull diseases, or in the extrication of any intricate single affection or malady, there is no man in Physicke exercised, who doth not dayly finde. Many examples of diseases of this kinde would cause the small body of this little worke voluminously to swell: we will therefore onely propose one.

Let vs suppose a sicke man, doubtfully and diuersly with these accidents afflicted: namely, a continuall feuer, a cough, spitting of blood, shortnesse of winde, head-ache, deliration, want of sleepe, drinesse, thirst, paines in diuers parts, sides, ribbes, backe and belly: What disease or diseases here are, can neither be manifest to sense, distracted in this confusion, multitude and concurrence of accidents; nor yet be euident to reason at the first view, because it requireth so different consideration, and deuided contemplation of so many seuerals apart. Here then it remaineth, that learned, iudicious, prudent, and discreete artificiall coniecture proceed exactly to distinguish & analise, as followeth. All the forenamed paines, distempers and accidents may indifferently arise, eyther from the Lungs inflamed, or the Liuer, or the Midriffe, or the Pleura; because any one of these by it selfe doth vsually bring forth all, or most part of them. Heere then prudent, artificiall, and exquisite perpension doth exactly valew and esteeme all the different manners, quantities, qualities, positions and situations of paines; likewise accidents, motions, times, manners of motion, caracters, orders, and all other both substantiall and circumstantiall considerations.

And first, as touching the feuer, head-ache, thirst, idlenes of braine (because they are common to many other diseases besides these, and require no curious, but a more carelesse and common respect,) prudent and circumspect coniectation doth leaue their needlesse confusion of more vsefull and needfull perpension, and doth more narrowly search about those accidents, which are more inseparable, proper and peculiar vnto the diseases named, and by exact

disquisition

diſquiſition in their differencies, doth notwithſtanding ſift out their hidden and ſecretly couched differencies, by which, in exact view they are found and diſtinguiſhed ſufficiently differing. The inſeparable accidents which doe peculiarly, or for the moſt part accompany the diſeaſes before named, that is, the inflammation of the Lungs, the Liuer, the Midriffe and the Pleura, are cough, ſhortneſſe of winde, ſpitting of blood, paines about the ribbes, ſides, belly, which in all theſe named diſeaſes, more or leſſe are preſent, either primarily, or by conſent of one part with another. Theſe, though ſeldome abſent from moſt of the foure former diſeaſes, and therefore not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, when they proceede from th'one or th'other; yet rightly weighed, and accurately conſidered in their ſeuerall manners, meaſures, and right poſitions in euery one, when apart and ſingle, they doe likewiſe in their confuſed mixture one with another, yeeld diſtinct and ſeuerall difference to him, that in a iudicious and diſcerning thought, doth beare their iuſt diſtinctions apart. For illuſtration, ſpitting of blood is vſually a companion to all, or moſt of the foure named diſeaſes; but in one in leſſe quantity, in another more; in one after one manner, in another after another; in one by vomiting, in another by expectoration, and in another by coughing; in one with much expuition, in another with little; in one with danger of ſtrangulation and ſuffocation, in another without; in one with thickneſſe, blackneſſe, and ſmall quantity of bloud, in another with thinneſſe, brightneſſe of colour, and more quantity; and in one of theſe alſo with leſſe, and in another with more difficulty and labour. Shortneſſe of winde, or difficulty of breathing, is a common companion to all the named diſeaſes; but in one with frequent expuition, in another without, and where, with expuition, in one with more facility, in another with difficulty, in one with one manner of diſtenſion of the inſtruments of reſpiration, in another with another, in one kinde of difficulty of reſpiration more frequent, in another leſſe, in one more grieuous, in another tolerable.

The like may be ſaid of coughing, and paines. Coughing in one of the forenamed diſeaſes is with much, in another with little, and in another with no expuition at all; in one continuall, in another with intermiſſion; in one with intenſion, in another with remiſsion; in one loud, in another ſtill; and where, with expectoration, in one of one colour and quantity, in another of another, and in another of none at all; in one eaſie, gentle, free and without paine, in another, grieuous and painfull; yea ſuffocatory, and neere to ſtrangle. Paine likewiſe is a common companion to all the mentioned diſeaſes; but diſtinguiſhed in the one and the other, by the manner, nature, and ſituation of the ſeuerall parts, which apart is euery one it poſſeſſeth, and alſo by the different oddes, faſhions, and kindes of paine; ſome being ſharp, ſome dull, ſome quicke, ſome ſlowe, ſome with diſtenſion, ſome with punction, ſome with heauineſſe and ſenſible weight, ſome more grieuous to the Patient lying, ſome to him ſitting or ſtanding, ſome more calme in one poſition of the body, and ſome in another.

And thus prudent an skilfull coniecture, by due and diligent perpenſion, comparing together oddes, and exactly referring vnto true diſcerning the ſeuerall properties and differences of accidents, their manner proportions, and other due circumſtances, doth in the end reduce euery accident to his right diſeaſe, and euery diſeaſe to his right cauſe; whereby the prudent, and iudicious Phyſicion doth cleerly vnderſtand directly and timely to apply proper and pertinent remedies. And thus in doubtfull caſes, which are neither euident to Reaſon, nor manifeſt to Senſe in the Art and exerciſe of Phyſike, it is manifeſt how ſolert and accurate coniectation, through the clouds and miſts of ambiguities, doth in the end ſo cleerely ſend forth and giue ſo faire a light, that doubt it ſelfe doth become out of doubt, and is little inferiour vnto certaine and plaine demonſtration. As a ſhort ſumme of all that hath been ſaid, whatſoeuer hath beene declared of diſeaſes, the ſame may bee propounded concerning their iſſues very briefely.

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The iſſues of all diſeaſes are either informed from Senſe, or euident by reaſon, or ſcrutable by artificiall coniecture. Examples of the firſt kinde are manifeſt, when with our eyes we behold the motion and Senſe externall and other outward functions of the body, either aboliſhed, or in an high degree depriued of their power and naturall vſe.

This certaine teſtimony of our ſight doth certainely informe the vnderſtanding, concerning the dangerous iſſue.

Examples of the ſecond kinde are manifeſt likewiſe, we finde either the cauſes of diſeaſes vnremoueably fixed, or the diſeaſe it ſelfe rooted in the ſubſtance of any of the principall parts, or accidents in malignitie, vehemence, and fury irreſiſtable. In theſe caſes a doubtfull and hard iſſue is euident to Reaſon by iuſt conſequent.

Examples of the latter kind are alſo apparent, when in diſeaſes, good and euill ſignes are ſo doubtfully mixed, that ſome promiſe Life, others as much threaten Death: ſome in number diſcourage, other ſome in worth as much as incourage. We doe oft ſee and know in the middeſt of this miſt and darknes, where there appeareth not to a common ſenſe ſo much as the leaſt ſhew of any indication of certaine iſſue; yet through the exquiſiteneſſe of prudent & artificiall perpenſion, and due exact diſtinction in the forementioned ſeeming inſcrutable oddes; the learned Phyſicion euen in the firſt ſcarce ſenſible budding of indication, and in the firſt moſt imperfect and ſcarce-being thereof doth oft diſcouer that true euent, which vſually and for the moſt part is ſeene and obſerued to come to paſſe.

If any man not rightly apprehending reaſon, make a doubt or queſtion of any ſuch poſſible exquiſitnes, let him conſider and behold it by an eaſie example. In an inequalitie of one and the ſame Vermiculant pulſe, where the beginning of the ſame diſtenſion is quicker, the next continuation or middle part is ſlower, and the beginning of the end thereof. ending almoſt before it begin: it muſt needes be very difficult, nay, almoſt impoſſible vnto the firſt view of Senſe or Reaſon, or to a common iudgement or learning,

to diuide really, and diſtinguiſh this one ſhort ſmall motion into two or three diſtinct times and parts of motion, the ſpace ſo very ſhort, the faculty of mouing ſo low and weake, and the mouing it ſelfe almoſt altogether in an inſenſible exiguitie, and an indiuiſible degree of lowneſſe.

Wee ſee oft-times a common vulgar cannot in his reaſon conceiue it, much leſſe by his ſenſe at all perceiue it. Neither is it found eaſie to euery man, though learned therein, yea, or educate thereto, either perfectly to apprehend the generall Idea of ſuch a motion, or at all in the firſt proofes and tryals of his ſenſe or hand to deprehend any particular. Notwithſtanding, the Phyſicion that exquiſitely diſcerneth and iudgeth, doth both in reaſon ſee, that euery ſingle ſmalleſt motion, hath his diuers diſtinct diuiſion of parts, & alſo by his diſcerning, wary, iudicious and exerciſed touch, doth apartly detect and diſcouer it: And thus hath been proued by ſeueral inſtances taken in the art of Phyſicke, in ſteade of al other Arts and Sciences, for auoiding tediouſneſſe and confuſion, that all knowledge, all Art, all Science whatſoeuer giuen vnto man, hath no other entrance, meanes, or wayes thereto, but thorow Senſe or Reaſon, or prudent and artificiall coniecture, ſagacitie and exquiſiteneſſe of iudging and diſcerning thereby.

And that it may the better appeare, that beyond theſe waies and lights, the Phyſicion cannot finde any knowledge or diſcouery of Diſeaſes: let vs view ſome particular examples of ſome Diſeaſes for this cauſe vndiſcouerable and not to be detected: and therewith conſider the impoſsibilitie of diſcouery to conſiſt ſolely herein; namely, for that they are remoued from any capacitie of Senſe or Reaſon, and from the reach of all artificiall ſearch, ſcrutiny & accurate inſight deriued from both, which is the higheſt ſtraine of humane Vnderſtanding. In the generall it cannot be denied (except of ſuch whoſe vnderſtandings are extremely blinde) that it is impoſſible, that thoſe diſeaſes ſhould or can bee at all ſo much as ſuſpected (and therefore much leſſe knowne) which yeeld no ſhew, no ſigne, no indication of themſelues. There

needeth

needeth hereof no other, nor better proofe, then the enumeration of ſome particular diſeaſes of this kinde.

Are not diuers ſecret and hidden Apoſtemations, and other inward collections of vicious matter in the body, dayly Seminaries of vnexpected and wondred ſhapes of corruption and putrifaction, which lying long hidden in the body, and by an inſenſible growth taking deepe roote, in the end ſodainely breake forth beyond all poſsible expectation, or thought of the moſt excellent, exquiſite and ſubtill circumſpection and diſquiſition? For a briefe confirmation hereof, *Hollerius* doth mention a man, the cauſe of whoſe diſeaſe while he liued, being vnknowne to Phyſicions, and Art, after his deceaſe his guts were found gangrened and periſhed, and therein things viewed like vnto Water-ſnakes, and his Liuer full of ſchirroſe knots.

There happened vnto my ſelfe this yeare laſt paſt, a Patient, a very worthy Gentleman, who being extremely vexed with the Strangury, Diſurie, and Iſchurie together with piſſing of blood in great abundance, and the ſtone, by the vſe and accommodation of remedies, found much eaſe, mitigation of paines, and qualification of the extremitie of all the former accidents. Notwithſtanding, for that there were certaine indications of an Vlcer in the body or capacitie of the Bladder, his recouerie was not expected, but after his deceaſe, in the diſſection of his body, his Bladder was found rotten, broken and black, without any manifeſt matter therein as cauſe thereof, or ſo much as one ſtone, although hee had formerly and immediately before auoided many ſtones at ſeuerall times. This I produce, being freſh in memory, as an inſtance of impoſſibilitie of knowledge vnto a Phyſicion in many and frequent caſes. For how could the fracture or colour of his Bladder, while the Patient was liuing, by any exquiſiteneſſe of Art or vnderſtanding, be knowne in any poſſibilitie, meanes, or power of man, although all the other accidents aboue mentioned, were vndoubtedly, by certaine indications and ſignes diſcouered? I might here deliuer many other like Examples

out

out of mine owne knowledge; I will onely call to remembrance one more.

I was of late yeares Phyſicion vnto a right Noble Lady; the cauſe of whoſe apparent dangerous eſtate, diuers learned and famous Phyſicions conioyned with my ſelfe, could neuer diſcouer. In the diſſection of her body after her deceaſe, her heart was found incloſed with a ſhining rotten gelly, and the very ſubſtance of the heart of the ſame colour.

In the ſame Lady, an intolerable paine about the bottome of her ſtomack, by fits depriued her of all eaſe by day, and of reſt by night, and could neuer be either knowne in the cauſe, or remooued in the accident by any meane or remedy: but after death, in the diſſection of her body before mentioned, a black round gelly as bigge as a Tenice ball, did manifeſt it ſelfe in that place, where, in her life, the intolerable paine was ſeated and fixed.

Of this euill diſcoloration of her heart, of the matter and euill colour of that matter wherewith her heart was inuironed; as alſo of that collected gelly in her ſtomacke, what poſſible knowledge (thinke you) or exquiſite vnderſtanding, or art of man could euer in her life time giue any notice or information? Like vnto this is that which *Hollerius* in the 21. of his rare obſeruations doth mention. In a ſicke man perplexed in a ſtrange manner from an vnknowne cauſe in his life, after his death his liuer and epiploon did appeare corrupted and putrified, his ſtomacke toward the bottome bruiſed and full of blacke iuice or humour. *Chriſtophorus Schillincus*, opening the body of a childe after death, reporteth, that hee ſaw in the ſmall veines, running thorow the ſubſtance of the liuer, many ſmall ſcrauling wormes then liuing. *Beniuenius* doth make mention of a woman tormented grieuouſly by a needle in her ſtomack, which was impoſſible by any art or exquiſitneſſe of vnderſtanding to bee conceiued or ſuſpected, if nature it ſelfe working it out thorow the body and ſubſtance of the ſtomacke, vnto the outward view and Senſe, had not ſo diſcouered

uered it. I will not here mention the generation of wormes, ſtones, and the like in the guts, gall, heart, longs and other parts, of which no Art, or excellence of knowledge can poſſibly take notice, vntill they haue proued themſelues vnto the ſight. Many diſeaſes of theſe kindes being feareſull and terrible accidents, and afflictions vnto the body, yet for the moſt part are neuer detected; becauſe they haue not onely no proper true certaine likely, but no poſsible meanes or way of indication or notice at all, in any reaſon or vnderſtanding of humane Art or Science; without which the moſt exquiſite and Scientificall Clarkes are altogether diſabled, and muſt neceſſarily bee ignorant. Thus hath beene at large manifeſted, that nothing can bee vnto the Phyſician in his Art and Science knowne, which either by outward Senſe or inward is not apparent, or by likely and artificiall coniecture from both, is not detected or diſcerned. The like might bee vrged concerning the trials of Lawe and Iuſtice, and inquiſitions of offences and errors againſt the Law, which are the diſeaſes of a Common-weale, as the former of the body of man. Many offences againſt the Lawe are apparent vnto the outward Senſe, as ſight or hearing: and therefore being witneſſed by hearers or beholders, are without doubt or difficultie immediately diſpatched, ſentenſed, and adiudged. Many alſo are euident to reaſon, which therefore are held and reputed inuincibly and infallibly to conuince.

Many offences alſo there are, neither manifeſt to Senſe, nor euident to reaſon, againſt which onely likelihood and preſumptions doe ariſe in iudgement; whereby notwithſtanding, through narrow ſearch and ſifting, ſtrict examination, circumſpect & curious view of euery circumſtance, together with euery materiall moment and oddes thorowly, and vnto the depth and bottome by ſubtill diſquiſition fadomed, the learned, prudent, and diſcerning Iudge doeth oft detect and bring vnto light many hidden, inteſtine, and ſecret miſchiefes, which vnſenſibly and vnobſeruedly would otherwiſe oppreſſe and ſubuert the Common-weale. When

by none of these wayes of extrication the trueth can possibly be gained, the wise and vpright Iudge vnto necessitie in want of due warrant vnto iust proceeding, doeth with patience and sobrietie submit. For this cause (as may be seene vpon records) many cases iustly necessarily and vnauoidably stand perpetually inscrutable, vndecided and neuer determined, as certaine proofes & euidences of the limitation and annihilation of mans knowledge in many things of this life: Almightie God oft-times decreeing to hide some trueth from the sight of man, and detaining it in his owne secret will and pleasure.

CHAP. III.

Whether Witch-craft haue any other wayes or meanes of inuestigation, then these before mentioned, and what is the true inuestigation.

IT hath beene at large before declared, how God and Nature haue limited and confined all knowledge of man, within certaine wayes and bounds, out of which, and beyond which it cannot passe; as also for that cause, that no iustifiable Art or true Science whatsoeuer, doeth or can exceed those restraints. There haue bin also diuers examples produced of the necessitie of mans ignorance, in the impossibilitie of much knowledge, and discouery of things hidden and inhibited by the iust and vnsearchable decrees of God and Nature. It remaineth now to enquire concerning our particular subiect of Witch-craft, whether in the common way of all other detections of trueths, it ought likewise consist; or whether by it selfe it haue other priuiledges beyond all other trials. If reason be the sole eye and light of naturall vnderstanding which God hath giuen vnto reasonable man (as is before prooued.) If without it can be no naturall knowledge, no Art, no Science, no discouery. If Law among all people and nations be so iust in all things, as to doe or allow nothing against true reason (in which

which consisteth right.) If God himselfe, and all flouri-
* shing Common-weales haue tyed men and Lawes, and the decision by them of all doubts, questions and controuersies, either vnto right proofe, euidence and allegation, according vnto reason, or at least, faire likelihood, presumption, and probabilitie; and beyond these there neuer was, is, or can bee any iust iudgement or triall: How is it possible that man can attaine any knowledge of Witch-craft, if not by those meanes, by which onely his nature is capable of whatsoeuer is allotted to bee knowne thereto? If this bee infallibly true, man must either by the former common wayes of knowledge and detection, know likewise and detect Witch-craft, or else bee altogether ignorant thereof; whereof the contrary by dayly experience is manifest. It may bee and is obiected, that it is a hard and difficult matter to detect Witch-craft, by the former and ordinary courses, as is oft seene and found apparent. So is it likewise equally difficult, and as hard by the same meanes oft times, for many a iust man to proone and cleere his opposed innocency, and for many an iniuriously wronged wretch to proone his right, to defend his goods, yea, life it selfe from violence; notwithstanding, this is no allowance vnto another way, no reason or iustification of any vnwarranted way, or way out of the way of Reason, Iustice, and Law, bee his burden neuer so importable, or his iniury exceeding crueltie.

For, if God had allowed vnto men alwayes smooth, assured, certaine and infallible wayes vnto the satisfaction of their wants, and the accomplishment of their intentions and desires without failing; what would become of Religion, Vertue, and Wisedome? Then should euery man be alike wise, and men would bee so confident in their owne strength and power, and so proud, that they would forget God and neuer thinke of the Almighty. If the meanes and wayes vnto all knowledge, and the information of our desires and affections, did meete with no impediment, no opposition, no contradiction, no casualty to intercept, and

all things ſhould proſperouſly ſucceed vnto our meanes and endeauours, there would neuer bee any vſe of Patience, Temperance, or dependance vpon the diuine prouidence; and conſequently, little acknowledgement, and leſſe worſhip and adoration of our Creator, who according to his wiſedome, good will and pleaſure, doth otherwiſe gouerne, guide, order and diſpoſe all things. For if vnto our ſuppoſed needfull ends, vſes and neceſſary deſires were certaine and vncontrouled wayes, nothing impoſsible, nothing denyed; then were our luſt a Lawe, and man in no power but in his owne, in no awe, in no Law, in no rule.

Therefore Almightie God in his great and vnſpeakeable Wiſedome hath ſubiected vaine man, and made his pride ſubiect to infinite creatures, limits, reſtraints, coertions, thereby to teach him true wiſedome, pietie, truſt, dependance, worſhip, and adoration of his all-reſtraining and allimiting vnlimited power. Man therefore muſt thereby learne to be contented ſo to know, as therewith to learne to know himſelfe; that is, with his large portion, his lot, his manifold indowments, his excellencie of Senſe, Reaſon, Vnderſtanding, Prudence, Art, not to forget or ſpurne at their interdictions, prohibitions, and inioyned liſts, beyond which to deſire to know, is curioſitie, is folly: *Sapientia, vera nolle nimis ſapere*, ſaith the Poet. It is true Wiſedome, not to bee too wiſe: that is, not to know, nor deſire to know more then is allowed or needfull: needfull, not in our deſires, but Gods Decree.

Here then let me intreat reaſonable men, not too much (as is vſuall) to ſwell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reueale & plainely (as they deſire and thinke needfull) the ſubtill engines, and myſticall craft of the Diuell in the Machinations of Witches and Sorcerers; but ſoberly, modeſtly, and diſcreetly, ſo farre forth be contented to purſue the tryall and iuſt way of their diſcouery, as with ſenſe, with reaſon, with Religion is iuſt and righteous, knowing that whatſoeuer is beyond theſe liſts, is reaſonleſſe, ſenſeleſſe, and impious.

For

For ſince God and Nature (as is before ſaid) hath limited the ſcrutinie of all true Arts, and Sciences, all naturall knowledge for diſcouerie of controuerſies and reſolutions vnto the lights of Reaſon and Senſe, & artificiall coniecture, prudence, Art, Sagacitie, and ſubtiltie of vnderſtanding deriued from thence; vnto what other barre or ſeate of Iuſtice can Witch-craft appeale or be brought?

It may be obiected, the Art of Witch-craft, being ſupernaturall, and the practice thereof ſuſtained by an extraordinary power; that therefore the meanes and wayes of diſcouerie muſt bee likewiſe more then ordinary and ſupernaturall.

Hereto is truely anſwered, that ſince the nature and power of Spirits is vnknowne vnto man (as all things ſupernaturall) and can bee, and is no otherwiſe knowne, but by examining the workes iſſuing from thence, and comparing them aright with that which is naturall (becauſe man in his Reaſon and vnderſtanding cannot diſcerne that which is truely tranſcending his Nature, otherwiſe; then obſeruing how farre it exceedeth that which is according to Nature:) therefore (I ſay) the workes of the Diuell, or Witches, though ſuſtained and produced by a ſupernaturall power, yet can haue no other way for their detection by man, but that which is ordinary vnto man, and naturall and poſſible vnto man; for that which is aboue or beyond his power, or Nature, is not his owne. From hence muſt neceſſarily be concluded, that there is no other ordinary way vnto man (who knoweth or can know nothing but that is naturall) vnto the diſcouerie of that is ſupernaturall, but that way which is likewiſe naturall. Although therefore the ſubiect of Witch-craft require a greater meaſure of knowledge to diſcerne that which is therein really, and truely ſupernaturall, from that which in nature oft-times hath a very great likeneſſe, and a deceiueable ſimilitude therewith: yet is the way vnto that knowledge, the common high way which conducteth vnto all other knowledge whatſoeuer. And that this alſo is the ſame way & direction,

which the holy Scripture it ſelfe doeth intend, for the diſcouery of witches, and their ſentenſing is manifeſt. *Num.* 39.30. *Deut.* 17.6. and 19.15. *Matth.* 18.16. *Iohn* 8.17. 2. *Corinth.* 13.1. *Hebr.* 10.28. In theſe named places it is required, that no man bee iudged in matter of weight, or death, but by the teſtimony of two witneſſes, at the leaſt. Witch-craft therefore being a matter, both of weight, and death, cannot according vnto Gods word, bee iudged but by teſtimony of witneſſes: whatſoeuer is witneſſed, muſt neceſſarily bee ſubiect to ſenſe, ſince no man can witneſſe ought, whereof there is not ſenſe. From hence then it is ineuitably concluded, that the workes of Witches, are no other way to bee diſcerned, or iudged, but by the common way of diſcouery, by deedes, and workes apparent to ſenſe, and the teſtimony thereof. Let men then bee perſwaded and contented (ſince God hath alotted, and allowed vnto the nature and power of man no other way) in this onely warranted true way to ſeeke the diſcouery, to finde the footing, path, and ſteppings of Witch-craft, as of all other things, which by the Decree of God are reuealed vnto man, and ſubiect vnto the knowledge of man. It may bee here demanded, whether Almighty God doth not extraordinarily, and miraculouſly at ſome time diſcouer this ſo abominable ſinne of Witch-craft, aſwell as by ordinary meanes leaue it vnto diſcouerie? This doubt ſhall more fitly in more due place be hereafter at large diſcourſed. It hath now beene here manifeſted, that there is or can bee no other ordinary tryall of Witch-craft, then that which is common vnto all other detections of trueth: and alſo that all detections ſubiect vnto the diſcouerie of man (as hath beene before cleared) are drawne and deriued either from Senſe or Reaſon, or likely probability raiſed from both.

Before I doe proceed farther, for his more facill vnderſtanding, I doe admoniſh the Reader, that hee diſtinguiſh, what is meant by the ſupernaturall workes; namely, whatſoeuer is effected, in, vpon, or by any corporall ſubſtances,

or

or ſublunarie bodies, which is aboue the nature, and power of thoſe bodies, or ſublunarie ſubſtances. They are not ſupernaturall, in regard of thoſe ſpirituall ſubſtances, which are the proper agents, and vnto whom ſuch workes, are no more then naturall; but in regard of thoſe bodily ſubſtances, vpon which, in which, or by which, thoſe ſpirituall ſubſtances doe worke, as meerely their patients, and being in themſelues, or owne nature depriued of any ſuch poſsibilitie.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Workes of Witches and Diuels.

BEfore wee proceed further to treate concerning matter of Witch-craft, according to the former waies of diſcouery and inueſtigation: it will be needfull to diſtinguiſh who is the true Author, cauſe, and immediate workman of the ſupernaturall workes which by Sorcery and Witch-craft are compaſſed or brought to paſſe.

All created ſubſtances indowed with powers and vertue from God their Creator, are either bodily, or corporall ſubſtances, or ſpirituall, or mixt and betweene both.

Bodily and corporall ſubſtances are the heauens, the celeſtiall bodies of the Starres, of the Sunne, of the Moone; the bodies of the elements, and all elementarie ſubſtances from them deriued and compoſed.

Spirituall ſubſtances are either Angels, or Diuels, or ſoules of men after death, ſeparated from their bodies.

Mixed ſubſtances, partly Spirituall, partly bodily, are mankinde compounded of a naturall body, and vnderſtanding ſoule.

Hence it commeth to paſſe, that man by his vnderſtanding Spirit, doth together with Angels, Spirits, and Diuels, participate and vnderſtand many things; as the Scripture reuealed; the Hiſtory and Creation of the whole world; many truths of God; the grounds of Reaſon; the princi-

ples

ples of Nature; many generall rules and obſeruations, and infinite particular obiects of many things paſt, preſent, and to come. But for that this vnderſtanding Soule is depreſſed, and impriſoned in this life by the body, by the paſſions, diſeaſes, and manifold incumbrances thereof, and cannot extend or inlarge it ſelfe further vnto any portion of knowledge, then thorow the narrow windowes, cloſures, parts and organs of the body: therefore muſt neceſſarily the knowledge of man be much inferiour vnto that meaſure of knowledge, which Spirits, being of a more ſubtill eſſence, and free from the burden and incumbrance of an earthly tabernacle or priſon, doe in a more large extent inioy.

As is ſaid of the difference of knowledge in Spirits, beyond the power and nature of man: ſo may be ſaid from the ſame reaſon of the difference of the workes of ſpirits, farre inlarging and extending their vertue and power, beyond the power and force of men.

The workes of men, are confined within the power and nature of theſe ſublunarie bodies, vnto which they are annexed, and tyed.

The workes of Spirits are limited to no corporall ſubſtance or body, but ſpaciouſly compaſſe the whole and vniuerſall body of the ſublunary or inferiour world (as the Diuell doth witneſſe of himſelfe, *Iob* 1. *verſe* 7.) and are not tied vnto any particular place, but rule generally therin, and in all places by the permiſſion of God, as is euident, *Eph.* 2. *ver.* 2. where the Diuell is called the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, euen the Spirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience: and likewiſe, *Epheſ.* 6. *verſe.* 12. where he is called the Prince of darkneſſe of this world.

From theſe vndoubted grounds, it is neceſſarily inferred, that both all knowledge exceeding the knowledge of man, muſt needs iſſue from the knowledge of Spirits, and alſo that all workes exceeding and tranſcendent, aboue the power and nature of corporall ſubſtances, muſt neceſſarily

be

be the force of Spirits. It may now be demaunded, how the workes of good Spirits shall be knowne and distinguished from the workes of euill Spirits and diuels, since both their workes proceede from the same nature, substance, and spirituall essence common vnto them both. This shall appeare by the consideration of the orders and sorts of good Spirits, expressed in holy Scripture, and their properties, besides which, all other are necessarily euill, and therefore diuels; like vnto whom likewise, by iust consequent must be their workes, the one reciprocally * discouering the other. All good Spirits are either Angels and Messengers of God, specially sent with his holy embassage, to speciall holy men, for speciall holy ends; as was the Seraphin sent vnto *Isaiah, the 6. Chapter, verse 6.* and as were the Angels vnto the Shepheards, when our Sauiour was borne, or as were the Angels which were sent vnto the Patriarches of olde, or els tutelar Angels, ordinarily commanded to guide, protect, and defend the Elect and chosen children of God, as is manifest both by the testimony of our Sauiour, *Math.* 18. *verse.* 10. See that you despise not (saith our blessed Sauiour) one of these little ones: For I say vnto you, that in heauen their Angels alway behold the face of my Father, which is in heauen. And by that Text also, *Heb.* 1. *vers.* 14. Are they not all ministring Spirits (saith the Apostle, speaking of Angels) sent forth to minister for their sakes, who shall be heires of saluation? Beside these orders of good and holy Spirits, neither hath the holy Scripture, neither hath the light of reason, or nature, or obseruation, knowne or discouered any other.

* Angeli boni non possunt peccare, confirmati per gratiam. Angeli mali, per malitiam obstinati non possunt bene velle Magist. Sent. dist. 7. lib. 2.

All the workes likewise and employments of these good Spirits, are all and euer obserued to be like themselues, holy, good, freely seruing and ministring vnto the expresse will, knowne and vndoubted pleasure of Almighty God, as is certainly confirmed, *Psal.* 103. *verse* 20. Praise ye the Lord (saith the Psalmist) ye his Angels that excell in power, that doe his commandements in obeying the voyce of his word.

All workes therefore or effects issuing from Spirits, that cannot bee proued and manifested to be first commanded by * God; secondly, tending solely to the execution of his will; and thirdly, are not contained in one of the foure first mentioned offices and administrations of Spirits, they are all certainely and assuredly to be suspected as workes of diuels and euill spirits, whom God doth permit (as saith S. *Augustine* in his 3. Booke *de Trinitate*) to bring to passe such workes of theirs, partly to deceiue those wicked, which God in iudgement hath giuen ouer to be deceiued of diuels; partly, to quicken and stirre vp the godly and holy man, and to trie and proue him thereby, as hee did his faithfull seruant *Iob*.

Boni Angedifficile cõarent, nec nisummi Dei ssa capessunt ernel. de bd. Rer. auſ. lib. 1. ca. 1.

Now for a more distinct cleerenesse and light vnto the proofe of these suspected workes of diuels, it is very profitable, necessary and pertinent, that we consider their kinds, which are two. The first kinde is of such supernaturall workes as are done by the diuell solely and simply to his owne ends or vse, without any reference or respect to any contract or couenant with man. The second kinde is of such transcendent workes, as are done with a respect or reference vnto some contract or couenant with man. In the first, the diuell is solely * an Agent for himselfe, without the consent or knowledge of man. In the second, the supernaturall and transcendent workes are truly, essentially, and immediately from the diuels; also (because out of the reach or power of any command of man simply) yet therein man hath a property and interest by couenant and contract, and deriuation thereof from the diuell, which is truely and solely Sorcerie, and Witch-craft: for since supernaturall workes are onely proper to a Spirit, and aboue the nature and power of man, they cannot truely and properly bee esteemed his; and therefore it is not the supernaturall work it selfe, but mans contract and combination therein with the diuell, his consent [a] and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a [b] contracter

* Inter maleicium & merum Diaboli ppus distingitur. Binsfedius Explicat. in prælud. 5. Vt fiat maleficium hæc tria concurrunt, nempe Deus permittens, Diaboli potestas, hominis maleficivoluntas libere consentiens. Binsfeldius de confess. Sagar.

tracter with the diuell. Now let vs proceed to conſider how theſe ſupernaturall workes in the former ſeuerall kinds are or may be detected, ſome by Reaſon, ſome by Senſe; wherein I intreat he Reader to vnderſtand ſupernaturall workes or acts not as abſolutely or ſimply aboue nature in generall (ſince nothing created can ſo be) but reſpectiuely aboue nature or in reſpect of this or that particular nature.

b Tacité i
uocatur D
mon quoi
quis conte
ditillud fa
per cauſas
turales qu
nec virtut
ſua naturaſ
neque ex d
uina aut ec
cleſiaſtica p
ſunt id face
Binsfeldius

CHAP. V.

The workes of the Diuell by himſelfe, ſolely wrought without the aſſociation of man.

IT is not deſtitute of eaſie proofe, that there are many ſupernaturall workes of the diuell manifeſt to ſenſe, wherein man doth not participate in knowledge, contract or conſent with him. Did not the Diuell in the body of a Serpent miraculouſly * reaſon, diſpute, ſpeake and conferre with *Eua*, *Gen.*3 ? Was not his ſpeach and voice vndoubtedly, manifeſtly, perceptibly, and truly heard, and ſounding in her eares ? There then was no man as yet borne that could combine with the diuell in this ſupernaturall worke, or that could then be found a Witch. Likewiſe, was not the Diuels carriage of the body of our Sauiour, and ſetting it vpon a pinacle of the Temple, manifeſt to the eye? Was not the fire which the diuell * brought done from heauen in ſo miraculous manner, and in ſo extraordinary power to deuoure ſo many thouſands of *Iobs* ſheepe, truly viſible ? The Meſſenger eſcaping to bring the tydings doth witneſſe it. Was not the power of the diuell ſeene at ſuch time, as in the Goſpell he carried whole herds of ſwine headlong into the Sea? Was not the Diuell ſeene to rend and teare the bodies of men by him poſſeſſed, in an extraordinary and ſupernaturall manner and ſort, *Marke* the firſt, *Luke* 4. *Math.* 17. *Marke* the ninth ? Was not the very voice of a Spirit heard and diſtinguiſhed, when the diuell in ſo fearefull and merueilous manner cryed out in the poſſeſſed, *Math.* 8. *Mark.* 5. *Luke* 8 ? Did not the people behold the miraculous force of the diuell

* Inſtrumen
tum diaboli
Serpens. T
melius. Iuni
The Serpen
did verily
ſpeake. It w
a true Serpe
not a ſhado
The diuell
ſpake in the
Serpent as
the Angel in
the Aſſe.
Dr. Willet.
* Iob. 1. ver.
16.

diuell casting the possessed into the middest of them, *Luk.* 4. 33.34,35? Did not the people heare & behold a foule Spirit crying aloud, & in an admirable power & manner comming out of the possessed, *Marke* 1. 24,25,26,26? All these were workes supernaturall of the diuell, and manifest to outward sense; yet no mention, no suspicion, no reason of mention, or suspicion of a Witch or Sorcerer: wherein therefore the diuell alone was sole Agent. But it may be obiected, that these examples out of the holy Scriptures are recorded as things specially seene, or noted in some speciall ages & times, which after-times & other ages doe not, or cannot affoord.

The contrary is manifest by the faithfull histories and true reports of Ethnicke writers, who liuing in distant ages, do not differ in the true consent and harmony of the same report, concerning the same things, as they haue succeeded in their seuerall ages. It is not incredible, but certaine vnto any common Reader, what diuers authors of approoued faith and credit, in seuerall ages haue written: how the diuell not onely out of the bodies and seuerall parts,* a part of the bodies of men haue vttered words, and spoken with the voice of men, euen as in the Gospell he did out of the possessed; but also out of trees, caues of earth, images and statues. The first is euident by the generall report from one succeeding age vnto another, concerning the *Pythons Pythonici* ἐγγαστριμυθοι *Ventriloqui*, and the like. The second was neuer hid many hundreth of yeares, for many ages long before the birth of our blessed Sauiour, as is apparent by the famous Oracle of *Delphos*, the Oake of *Dodona*, the Statue of *Memnon*. *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus*, in his *Syntagma Iuris*, reciteth this history concerning certaine statues at *Alexandria*, that they did fall vnto the ground sudainly, and with an audible voice declared the death of *Mauricius* the Emperour, euen at the same moment and point of time when he was then slaine at Rome.

As the Diuell doth shew himselfe by voices and sounds in trees, caues, statues, and the like: so doth he in diuers other outward shapes and formes of other creatures.

* Oracula edita sunt per pudenda puellæ. Mornæus de verit. Rel cap. 23. ex Diodoro.

Thus

Thus he appeared vnto *Eua*, and ſpake vnto her in the ſhape of a Serpent aforeſaid. Of his appearance in diuers other formes likewiſe are many Teſtimonies. Neither doe Philoſophers differ or doubt herein. *Ariſtotle* in his *Metaphyſickes* hath theſe words. οὐσία λέγεται τὰ τὸ ἁπλασώματα ὁιονγῆ, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων συνεστῶ τὰ ζῶατο καὶ Δαιμόνια. That is, ſubſtances are called ſimple bodies, as water, earth, fire and the like, and things compounded thereof, as liuing creatures and ſpirits: which is ſo farre forth to be vnderſtood of ſpirits, as they were in aſſumed ſhapes viſible. *Orpheus* doth number ſixe kinds of theſe viſible diuels or ſpirits. Δαίμονας οὐρανίους καὶ ἀηρίους, καὶ ἐνύδρους, καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους πυριφοίτους, That is, Spirits inhabiting the heauenly regions, Spirits ruling in the ayre, in the water, in the fire, in the earth, and vnder the earth. The Spirits in the Aire *Plato* ſaith, are preſidents of diuination, of miracles, and of *Chaldaike Magicke*. The Spirits in the earth, and vnder the earth are ſuch as appeare in the ſhape of Dogges, and Goates, and the like, moouing men vnto foule and vnlawfull luſts as *Ianus Iocobus Boiſſardus* in his *tractate de Magia & genijs* doth teſtifie. The ſame Authour vnto this purpoſe citeth Saint *Auguſt*. lib. 2. *Super Geneſim ad literam*, confirming that Spirits doe vſe the helpe of Aerie bodies or ſubſtances that they may appeare vnto men. Vnto this opinion of the apparitions of Spirits variety of ſtory likewiſe doth bring forth faith and credit. I will not mention the apparition which happened vnto *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher reported by *Pliny*, nor *Brutus* his *Genius* after the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, appearing and ſpeaking vnto him, nor thoſe repreſentations, which in the ſhape of men appeared vnto *Lucius Domitius*, returning toward *Rome* as *Suetonius* reporteth, adding for confirmation of truth in the Hiſtorie, that the apparition touching his beard, it inſtantly changed from the former perfect blacke vnto a liuely yellow, and thereupon he was afterward ſirnamed *Oenobarbus*. I will not farther cite ancient times herein. Let vs come vnto later daies and writers. It is reported

by *Iohn de Serres* the French Chronicler, that the late renowmed K. of France, *Henry* the 4. being in his hunting ſports, a Diuell or Spirit preſented vnto the Kings eares and his whole company, a great cry of hounds, and winding of hornes. The King commanded Count *Soiſſons* to goe ſee who it was, wondering who durſt interrupt his game. The Earle ſtill iſſuing forward toward the noiſe, ſtill heard it, but ſeemed nothing neerer vnto it, though deſiring to come neereſt vnto it. At length a bigge blacke man preſented himſelfe in the thickeſt of the buſhes, and ſpeaking vnto the Earle ſome few words, ſudainly vaniſhed.

There could be no deceit in ſo many eares and witneſſes, nor can the obiection of a meere imagination ſtand vncontrouled of the iuſt reproofe of want of wit and good manners, in doubt or deniall of ſo faire and ſo well aduiſed due teſtimonies.

Maſter *Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Diuell with a yong man; who vpon contracts agreed betweene the Diuell and himſelfe, deliuered vnto the Diuell his bond for conditioned performances.

Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the paſſage of many affaires, within the time of *Henry* the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Diuell in the habite of a *Minorite Fryer* at *Danbury* Church in Eſſex, with ſuch thundring, lightning, tempeſts, and fire-bals, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

I will not further recite infinite Hiſtories and Reports, which may ſeeme to depend vpon the obſcure or doubted credit of ſuperſtitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of ſuch onely as by the common conſent of times, and generall voice of all Writers, exact credit and eſteeme.

In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and ſtreame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almoſt that readeth any ancient claſsicall Author, can

auoide

auoide the common mention of fained gods,* and godesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of riuers, of springs, and the like, offering themselues vnto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountring people, sometimes menacing?

Herevpon grew the multitude and varietie of names giuen vnto them, according to the seuerall manners, shapes, gestures, and places which they vsed; as * *Fauni, Satyri, Nymphæ, Empusa, Lemures.* All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby beleeue one onely true God, must needs assure themselues that all these were euill Spirits, and Diuels. * That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one vniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly seene, knowen, & familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot bee denied, by the seuerall descriptions of their manners, assumed shapes and gestures.

And thus briefely auoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of vncertaine particular examples giuen by priuate men, I haue by vndoubted and vncontrouled references vnto ages and successions of continued histories from one vnto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Diuell hath apparently offered himsele vnto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before prooued by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Diuell hath affected to * counterfeit the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God vnto his holy seruants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal vnto God in ignorant and vnbeleeuing hearts.

* Vide Platonem in Epinomide de viribus & potestatibus Heroum, quos Latini Lemures dixerunt. De Geniis item diis & dæmonibus promiscue in cœlo, terra, & singulis mundi regionibus distributis vide in Politico. Vide Platonem 4. de legibus. Quos ibi Plato promiscue Dæmones appellat, Latini his nominibus, & quibusdam officiis distinxerunt.

* Fauni Syluani Incubi Dusii Dæmones fuere. Auguſt. De Ciuit Dei. Diabolus, Dei æmulus quo se fallaci similitudine insinuet in animos simplicium. Caluin. lib 1. Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 2.

CHAP. VI.

Workes done by the Diuell, with reſpect vnto Couenant with Man.

IT now followeth to giue examples of ſuch ſupernaturall workes as are offered by the Diuell, wherein man hath an intereſt and propertie by contract with the Diuel; as alſo to ſhew that theſe workes are manifeſt in like manner vnto the outward ſenſe. Vnto this proofe out of holy Scripture, behold the Witch of *Endor*. Did not *Saul* contract with her, and ſhe promiſe vnto *Saul* to bring vp *Samuel* vnto him? Did not Saul ſee the viſion raiſed by her, or at leaſt ſpeake thereto, and receiue anſwer there-from, 1. *Sam.* 28. 8? were not then his eyes and eares (thoſe two outward ſenſes) certaine witneſſes of her Sorcerie? Behold alſo the Sorcerers of Egypt. Did not *Pharaoh* ſee and view with his eyes thoſe great and mighty Sorceries, water turned into blood, rods into Serpents, Frogges cauſed to iſſue out vpon the face of the earth?

And as the holy Scripture doth afford vs theſe examples, ſo are the hiſtories of all ages, people, and countries, fraught with the like as manifeſt to ſenſe as theſe, and as apparently detecting and pointing out the Sorcerer and Sorcery.

Liuy reporteth, in thoſe ancient dayes of *Rome*, that the *Romane Claudia*, a veſtall Virgin, did ſhew her ſelfe in act, able alone with eaſe and facilitie to draw a mighty ſhip by a ſmall line or girdle, which was in the weight and greatneſſe vnmoueable, againſt the force and power of many ſtrong men, aſſiſted by the ſtrength of cattell accuſtomed to draw mighty and heauy burdens. That this was an act ſupernaturall, and aboue, and beyond any naturall vertue or force in her Nature, is madneſſe to doubt. That in this ſupernaturall act alſo, ſhe had a propertie by her allowance and liking

ing thereof, expreſſed by her voluntarie action of vndertaking and drawing; who can make doubt? The act was ſupernaturall, and aboue her power and nature: her good will, allowance, and voluntary putting the act in practice, did proue her conſent, if not contract, with that power and nature ſuperiour vnto her owne, which is vndoubtedly, Sorcery, and Witch-craft. To this purpoſe, ſaith *Binsfieldius*, *Explicat. in prælud. 5. Requiritur in maleficio hominis libera voluntas quam Diabolus non poteſt cogere, ſed perſuadere tantum aut terrere.* That is, in Witch-craft neceſſarily the will, or conſent of man, muſt concurre with the Diuels worke, for the Diuell cannot force, or compell the will of man, but perſwadeth it onely, or affrighteth it. And againe hee ſaith, that whoſoeuer doeth pretend to doe thoſe things, which are aboue the power, and reach of man, by any naturall cauſes, which cauſes are allowed no ſuch effects, either in nature, or in Gods word, or by any ordinance of of his Church, that man doeth cloſely, or tacitly inuocate the Diuell. *Quoties (inquit) quis contendit illud facere, per cauſas naturales, quæ nec virtute ſua naturali, neque ex diuina aut Eccleſiaſtica poſſunt illud facere, Tacitè in vocatur Dæmon.*

Tuccia alſo a veſtall Virgin, is reported by mumbling of a certaine prayer, to keepe water within a ſiue, or a riddle, as witneſſeth not onely *Pliny*, but euen *Tertullian*.

* *Camerarius* maketh mention of a man, who armed onely with certaine charmes, would vndertake to receiue vpon his body, without harme, bullets, or ſhot out of the fiery Cannon. De diuinat. generibus. pag. 118.

He maketh alſo mention of another, who would vndertake to lay his hand vpon the mouth of the like inſtrument, euen when the fire was alreadie giuen, and thereby cauſe the flame appearing in the mouth thereof, together with the ſhot there, to ſtay.

The like is reported by *Ianus, Iacobus, Boiſſardus*, concerning a Germane Count in his booke *de Diuinatione*. It is related vpon good record, that *Decius Actius* the Augur, was able to report vnto *Tarquinius* the Romane King, the

very particular which he intended, & prepared in his moſt ſecret deſignes. It is written of the *Enthuſiaſtes*, or Propheteſſes of *Diana* in *Caſtabala*, a towne of *Cilicia*, that they would walke vſually, & voluntarily, with naked & bare feet, vpon hot burning coales, without any hurt, or alteration by the fire. It is recorded concerning *Pythagoras*, that hee would by certaine ſecret words, compell a feeding Oxe, Bullocke, or the like, immediately to ſtand ſtill, and forbeare his meat. Others report of him, that he would command wild beaſts, and Birds, Beares, and Eagles, to come vnto him, to grow tame, to follow him. It is credibly reported of the ſame *Pythagoras*, that hee was at once by ſeuerall parties ſeene, in the very ſame point of time, both in the Citie of *Thurium*, and the towne of *Metapontum*.

Apollonius likewiſe was tranſlated, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, or in the ſpace of a word ſpeaking from *Smyrna*, vnto *Epheſus*, as ſome Hiſtories report. That the power by which theſe things were done, was more then humane, no Reaſon can doubt. That alſo the voluntary acceſſion of theſe mens diſpoſing, or apting themſelues vnto theſe workes, doeth prooue their conſent, and by conſent in conſequence of reaſon, ſocietie with a Spirit, who can doubt? And for this cauſe, *Binsfieldius* termeth it a tacit contract, as is aforeſaid.

But here by the way, is iuſt occaſion offered vnto a queſtion; namely, whether a Spirit or Diuell can cauſe or bring to paſſe, that the ſame true body at once may bee really in two diſtant places, as it ſeemeth by this hiſtory of *Pythagoras*.

The anſwere hereto muſt needes in reaſon bee negatiue; becauſe it is impoſſible in nature, and in the ordinary vnchangeable courſe of all things by God created, that one indiuiduall and continued ſubſtance, or entire thing ſhould be wholly diuided from it ſelfe, and yet be it ſelfe, or poſſibly be twice, or bee in two places, and yet bee but one and the ſelfe ſame thing.

We muſt therefore rather here thinke that the diuell is a

Iuggler,

Iuggler, presenting the liuely shape and pourtraiture of *Pythagoras* in one place, and thereto haply by his supernaturall power, adding a counterfait liuelihood of speech and gesture, while the true substance is certainely and truly seen in another place. That these like practises are vsuall with the diuell, is apparent in many other kinds beside. Did hee not vndertake, *Math. 4. verse 8.* vnto wisdome it selfe our blessed Sauiour, to shew vnto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, a thing so farre out of his reach and compasse, but only by a lying and iugling vision? If this he doeth vnto the Sonne of God, how shall the silly sonnes of sinfull men escape? It is written by some Authors, that the diuell hath perswaded some foolish Sorcerers and Witches, that hee hath changed their bodies and substances, into Catts, Asses, Birds, and other creatures, which * really and indeed without illusion (if it be not presumption to reason with the Diuell) is impossible vnto him to doe. For there can bee no reall or true matamorphosing of one substance or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. The one is the sole immediate hand of God, communicable to no creature (because there cannot be two Creators) the other is naturall, the finger-worke and power of God in nature, and proper to the nature of liuing animate creatures, not to Angels or Spirits.

* Transformationes in cattos aut lupos phantastice et per præstigias et non realiter fiunt. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 18.

Againe, creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone, because there can be but one Infinite, whose nature containing all things, and contained of nothing, can admit no equall, no second, no other. The Diuell then cannot create. That likewise he cannot cause these transmutations by generation, is as plaine and euident, because a true and reall generation hath many precedent * alterations, and by little and little in space of time groweth vnto the perfection of that kinde, vnto which it doth tend or is begotten; but these seeming transmutations by the Diuell of the substances of Men into Cattes, and the like, are swift and sodaine, in a moment, and without preparation:

* Generatio non est nisi in tempore idq; apparata materia per antecessionem mutationis, quam Græci ἀλλοίωσιν recentiores Ciceroniã maluerunt cõmutationem. Scal. de subt. exercit. 6. sect. 14.

paration : and therefore are no true, but ſeeming and iuggling tranſmutations.

Here may be againe obiected, that the Diuell is able to worke aboue the power of Nature; and therefore beſide and aboue the naturall courſe of generation, hee is able to make theſe reall tranſmutations. It is anſwered, though the diuell indeed, as a Spirit, may doe, and doth many things aboue and beyond the courſe of ſome particular natures : yet doth hee not, nor is able to rule or command ouer generall Nature, or infringe or alter her inuiolable decrees in the perpetuall and neuer-interrupted order of all generations; neither is he generally Maſter of vniuerſall Nature, but Nature Maſter and Commaunder of him. For Nature is nothing els but the ordinary [a] power of God in all things created, among which the Diuell being a creature, is contained, and therefore ſubiect to that vniuerſall power.

[a] Natura eſt ordinaria Dei poteſtas. Scalig.

For this cauſe, although aboue the power of our particular nature, the Diuell as a Spirit doth many things, which in reſpect of our nature, are ſupernaturall; yet in reſpect of the power of Nature in vniuerſall, they are but naturall vnto himſelfe and other Spirits, who alſo are a kinde of creature contained within the generall nature of things created : Oppoſite therefore, contrarie, againſt or aboue the generall * power of Nature, he can doe nothing: Therefore, to conclud this point, he cannot be able to commaund or compaſſe any generation aboue the power of Nature, whoſe power is more vniuerſall and greater then his. We will then hence conclude, that aboue and beyond the vniuerſall Nature and courſe of all generation, hee cannot make a true tranſmutation of the ſubſtance of any one creature into another.

* Natura eſt vniuerſalis, eſt particularis.

It was before prooued, that it is impoſſible for him to doe it by creation. It is here manifeſt, that he cannot doe it by any courſe of true generation. There can be no real tranſmutation of one ſubſtance into another, without either a creation or generation. Wee will therefore conclude with the

the saying of Saint *Augustine de Ciuitate Dei, lib.* 18. *cap.* 18. *Nec sane Dæmones naturas creant, sed specie tenus, quæ à Deo creata sunt, commutant, vt videantur esse quæ non sunt:* that is, diuels cannot create any nature or substance, but in iuggling shew or seeming onely, whereby with false shaddowes and outward induced shapes couering those things which are created of God, by these commutations they cause them to seeme that which they are not indeed.

Concerning other manifest iugglings and illusions of the Diuell, diuers authors haue giuen diuers examples, but that which aboue all the rest doth most palpably detect him herein, is a history related by *Ioannes Baptista Porta* in his second booke *De Magia naturali.* He there witnesseth, that vpon the Diuels suggestion, a Witch beleeued firmely, and perswaded her selfe, that all the night she had rid in the ayre, ouer diuers great Mountaines, and met inconuenticles of other Sorceresses; when the same night the mentioned Authour himselfe, with others, had watched and seene her, all that imagined time of her transuection in the ayre, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her flesh blue with strokes, and could not awake her, nor perswade her afterward, when shee was awaked that they had so vsed her, or at all had either seene or beheld her. Thus preualent was the iuggling power of the Diuell.

S. Austine de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 18. doth deliuer an History concerning the father of one *Præstantius*, who lying in a deep traunce so profoundly that no meanes could awake him, did dreame (as when he awaked he did report) that hee was transformed into an Asse, and carried bagges or burdens of corne into a campe of Souldiers. At the same time, in the same manner, such a like Asse as hee in dreame imagined himselfe did bring such burdens into the same campe.

From these examples may bee iustly drawne a plaine demonstration of the Diuels palpable iuggling and illusion, which also may serue for confirmation, together with the

reasons before annexed vnto my former answer, concerning the Diuels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of *Pythagoras* in two distant places at once, in the same point of time. And from all these conioined and conferred, may be truely inferred and collected, that the Diuell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination.

These his iugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so liuely a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence & real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, vpon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so liuely likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discouered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleeued.

From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soeuer shall vndertake these supernaturall iuglings, which are onely possible in the power of Spirits, & of the Diuell alone, is thereby as truely conuinced to bee a Witch or Sorcerer, as he that vndertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall workes, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the diuell, and wherein man can haue no property or power but by and through him. Let vs now then againe returne vnto the Diuels reall supernaturnall performances and workes, vnto Sorcerers, from whence by the way of answer vnto the former doubt, concerning *Pythagoras* his supposed realty of being at once in two places, we haue hitherto onely digressed.

It is written as a thing vsuall vnto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, vnto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing vndoubted by the Witch of *Endor*, raising

raiſing *Samuel* the Prophet vnto *Saul* the King before mentioned.

In this kinde thoſe famous and renowned Witches *Medea* and *Circe* in old and ancient times are reported to excell. Hence among the Heathen had *Necromancie* the reaſon of the name and [illegible] which is diuination by calling vp, or raiſing the dead.

Later times haue not been behinde former times in the record of the like: but to adde reaſon to inforce the truth of report herein; I will anſwer an obiection which may bee made. Whether in theſe apparitions there be onely illuſion and imagination; or ſome thing truely and really viſible vnto the outward ſenſe.

As touching the reall raiſing of the dead, it is impoſſible vnto the limited power of the Diuell, either in the ſubſtance of body or ſoule, to reduce or bring the dead back into this world, or life, or ſenſe againe; becauſe in death, by the vnchangeable, and vnalterable decree of God in his holy Writ, the body returneth into duſt from whence it came, and the Soule to God who gaue it.

Notwithſtanding, ſince the outward ſhape and figure, and proportion of any ſubſtance, and not the ſubſtance it ſelfe, or creature, is the true and naturall obiect of the eye, according to the *Philoſopher*, who truely ſaith, *Res non videntur, ſed rerum ſpecies*; that is, the ſubſtances or things themſelues are not offered, nor come vnto the ſight, but only their ſhape, and outward figure, as alſo for that common ſenſe and experience doe teach vs, that it is a thing abſurd, and impoſſible, that all thoſe bodies and ſubſtances, which in infinite number wee dayly ſee, and behold really and materially in their corporall ſubſtances, and dimenſions, ſhould be contained in the ſmall body of the eye: for theſe cauſes (I ſay) it is poſſible according to reaſon, that the Diuell in theſe ſuppoſed apparitions of the bodies and ſubſtances of dead men, may preſent true, reall, and naturall obiects, certaine and aſſured vnto the eye and ſight, if hee can onely preſent thereto the outward liuely pourtraitures,

reasons before annexed vnto my former answer, concerning the Diuels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of *Pythagoras* in two distant places at once, in the same point of time. And from all these conioined and conferred, may be truely inferred and collected, that the Diuell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination.

These his iugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so liuely a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence & real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, vpon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so liuely likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discouered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleeued.

From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soeuer shall vndertake these supernaturall iuglings, which are onely possible in the power of Spirits, & of the Diuell alone, is thereby as truely conuinced to bee a Witch or Sorcerer, as he that vndertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall workes, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the diuell, and wherein man can haue no property or power but by and through him. Let vs now then againe returne vnto the Diuels reall supernaturnall performances and workes, vnto Sorcerers, from whence by the way of answer vnto the former doubt, concerning *Pythagoras* his supposed realty of being at once in two places, we haue hitherto onely digressed.

It is written as a thing vsuall vnto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, vnto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing vndoubted by the Witch of *Endor*, raising

raiſing *Samuel* the Prophet vnto *Saul* the King before mentioned.

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and shapes of the substances or bodies, though the bodies themselues be away. That the Diuell can doe this, is no doubt. For if man by Art can vsually diuide the outward shapes, and figures of creatures and substances, from the substances and creatures themselues (as is apparent by the looking glasse) and the cunning Painter can in another borrowed substance, separated from their true, right and proper substance, represent perfectly the true and liuely shape of men, & other creatures, euen when they are not onely absent, and remoued in farre distant places, but when oft-times they haue many yeares beene swallowed of the graue; why should it be thought impossible vnto the Diuell (who certainely is more then exquisite *Apelles* excellent) to offer and present vnto the eye likewise any true shape whatsoeuer?

If he can offer the true shape (as is not to be doubted) he doth offer a true and perfect obiect; and therefore that which is truely and certainely manifest to sense, although speech and the motion thereof, without another visible bodie to sustaine it (being impossible vnto shapes and pourtraitures drawne by men) be things supernaturall, and truely spirituall, which doe therefore make it a worke proper vnto the Diuell.

And thus it is apparent, that the supposed apparitions which the Diuell doth offer of dead men, may be esteemed and reckoned among such supernaturall workes of diuels and Sorcerers, as manifestly are brought to outward sense.

Now let vs turne to view some other kinds of the same workes of the same Authors.

It is reported by some Writers of worthy credit, that the bodies of Sorcerers & Witches haue bin really carried, and locally remooued from on place into another by the diuell.

And of later times (as *Bartholomæus de Spina* doth witnesse) the inquisitions haue condemned vnto perpetuall prison, and their detained Witches, who by their owne confession, and others proofe, haue by the Diuell been transported into so farre distant places, in few houres, that afterward

ward it hath bin a trauell of many dayes, by their owne naturall power to returne againe from whence they were manifeſtly by the diuell carried.

It is a thing likewiſe written and vulgarly receiued, that Witches are oft-times ſeene bodily to haunt places, fields, houſes, graues, and ſepulchers, in an vnuſuall and miraculous manner and wondred faſhion. Theſe things, and infinite more, whether true or no, cannot be knowne, but to him that doth himſelfe behold, and can from his owne ſight auouch them really true, and not imaginarie. To performe ſome manner of aſportation, and locall tranſlation of the bodies of Witches and Sorcerers, it ſeemeth in reaſon a thing whereunto the Diuell is not vnable.

Firſt, for that it appeareth within the power of a Spirit, by the hiſtory of the Prophet *Habacuc*, whom the Angel carried by the hayre of the head, out of *Iudea* into *Babylon*. The naturall faculties and properties of a Spirit, giuen in their creation, and by their eſſentiall formes vnited vnto them, the Diuell doth participate with all other Spirits whatſoeuer, though in his fall from heauen, he loſt their true happineſſe and perfect fruition in the face and fauour of God his Creator.

Secondly, for that there are vndoubted examples in holy Scripture, of the diuels power in the locall tranſlation, not onely of bodies inanimate: as fire, windes, tempeſts, houſes (as is apparent in the hiſtory of *Iob*) and of animate bodies alſo, or bodies of brute creatures (as is euident in the heards of ſwine which he carried headlong into the Sea) but likewiſe of the bodies of men, as is cleere in the Goſpel, where it is ſaid, that the Diuell did caſt the bodies of the poſſeſſed into the middeſt of the people. If the Diuel could caſt, or carry their bodies the diſtance there expreſſed (whatſoeuer or how little ſo euer it was) it doth manifeſtly prooue his power, in the locall motion of mens bodies, although the full extent of his power therein be not neceſſarily thence collected.

Concerning the taking the body of our Sauiour, and ſet-

ting it vpon a pinacle of the Temple, I will not vrge, but do conclude vpon my former reasons sufficiently and necessarily, that the Diuell, where God himselfe doth not countermaund, or prohibite him, hath power to dispose and transport our naturall bodies. I will not cite a multitude of Authors herein, and from them borrow needlesse examples. As some may bee true, so I doe not beleeue all, and very few I wish trusted, where the proofe doth not manifestly exceede all exception.

I conclude, that it is possible, that sometimes the supernaturall power of the Diuell in this kinde, as in other before mentioned, may appeare vnto outward sense manifest, and the Witch or Sorcerer be found a voluntarie with him. And as is said of this kinde, so may be said of many more besides those before mentioned.

Charmers. Concerning the manifest supernaturall workes done by Charmers, who is ignorant? To omit the histories of *Medea* and *Circe* those old famous Hags, who were seene by charmes immediately to cause graine to wither vpon the ground; the current of waters to stand still; the streame to runne backe against the course, tempests, raine, thunder, windes to rise and fall at their word and command, for an assured testimonie of the true and reall harmes, which Charmers manifestly vnto outward view and sense did vnto the ancient world, is as yet extant so many hundreths of yeares, the Law of the twelue *Romane* Tables, wherein was a Decree and Statute made to preuent and restraine the manifest wrongs and iniuries of Charmers. *Alienas Segetes ne incantato*, saith the Law, *Alienas Segetes in-cantando ne pellexeris*, that is, Let no man charme his neighbours graine. Let no man by charmes and incantations carry away or transport anothers graine. There are many other true reports and records of other wonderfull works and supernaturall feates, all alike offered vnto the outward sence: There inumeration or citation is not further needfull. It is sufficient whatsoeuer or how many soeuer they be, that they are workes supernaturall, that they are manifest to sense, that they are of the

the Diuell, and that the Witch or Sorcerer doth manifeſt his guilt therein, by voluntary preſenting himſelfe therein, by manifeſt vndertaking any part or office in the performance or by promiſing, and according to promiſe cauſing to come to paſſe. The reaſon is infallible. He that doth vndertake voluntarily, doth preſent himſelfe and doth promiſe and according to promiſe, cauſe to be performed that which is in anothers power, and impoſſible vnto himſelfe, doth thereby neceſſarily and vnanſwerably prooue himſelfe to haue an intereſt, a power, a contract with that other, which for any may to haue with the Diuell, is ſociety with Diuels, which is Witch-craft and Sorcerie.

And thus hath beene declared, how the ſupernatuall workes of the Diuell and Sorcerers may be manifeſt to the outward ſenſe, and the true teſtimony thereof.

An obiection here may be made, that many of the former workes may ſeeme maniteſt to the ſenſe, which indeed and truth are deceits of the imagination and illuſion, and therefore there can be no ſuch certainty vnto the outward ſenſe. It is truely * anſwered, He that wanteth ſo much true iudgement, as to diſtinguiſh when he doth ſee a certaine true obiect offered vnto his ſight from without, and when he is incountred onely with a reſemblance thereof from within his fancie and imagination, is diſeaſed in body or minde, or both, and therefore is no competent Iudge or witneſſe in theſe or any other weighty affaires. For that is in health of body, and in the outward organes and inſtruments of ſenſe, and ſound in his reaſon, iudgement, and vnderſtanding, though ſometime the fogge and miſt of deceiued ſenſe, or fancy, ouerſhadow the brightneſſe of true and vndeceiued reaſon for a ſhort time in him yet it cannot ſo perpetually eclipſe it, but it wil recouer his light and true ſplendor againe, and truth will ſhine more excellently in the end out of that darkneſſe. This is very liuely ſeene in the example of S. *Peter*. *Acts* 12. *verſe* 10. 12. who at firſt did thinke he had onely ſeene the Angell which God ſent vnto him to deliuer him out of bonds, in a dreame or viſion: but

* Things imagined and fancied, eaſily diſcerned from thoſe things which are reall and true obiects of the ſenſe.

when afterward he was come to himſelfe, and his true ſenſe and reaſon, hee then perfectly diſcerned and knew that he was really deliuered out of priſon by an Angel of God.

If men could not certainly diſcerne betweene that which they doe really ſee, and that they falſely imagine in viſions, dreames and fancie, then were the life of man moſt miſerable, there could be no certainty of truth, no excelling in knowledge or vnderſtanding. All men ſhould be a like vnable to diſtinguiſh, whether we liue in dreames onely, or in wakeful deed. But the certaine knowledge which God hath giuen vnto mankinde in ſo infinite kindes and meaſures, doth prooue the eminence of reaſon and vnderſtanding aboue the intanglements and depreſsion of ſenſe and fancie.

There remaineth as yet another doubt, which is, how thoſe things which before were mentioned to be ſpirituall and ſupernaturall can be ſubiect in reaſon vnto outward ſenſe or be knowne thereby, howſoeuer by the former examples, it doth ſo ſeeme. It is true that a Spirit and a Spirituall worke ſimply in it ſelfe in the owne nature and ſubſtance, cannot be ſeene by any bodily eyes, or be deprehended by any outward ſenſe.

Notwithſtanding, as they doe mixe themſelues with bodily * ſubſtances, which are ſubiect to ſenſe, by accident Spirits, and ſpirituall operations, are certainly tryed and diſcouered euen vnto ſenſe. For how is it poſsible that a Spirit ſhould mixe it ſelfe in corporall things, but the diſcrepant nature thereof, and mighty difference, muſt produce and beget ſome great apparent alteration, which alteration being beyond the wonted nature of the one, doth prooue another ſuperiour nature in the other? For illuſtration hereof, let vs borrow an inſtance from one of the forenamed manifeſt Sorceries. Water is turned into blood by a Spirituall power. The eye doth manifeſtly ſee the water, and as apparently after ſee the blood, and is a true and vndeceiued witneſſe of both. Reaſon and common ſenſe doe know the tranſmutation to proceede from an inuiſible power, which appearing in viſible bodies, is by them

* Spiritus incorpori & à ſenſibus noſtris remoti operibus conſpicui. Fernel l. 1. de Ab. Rer. cauſ. cap. 11.

apart

apart ſeene, and doth detect an inuiſible Author, becauſe an immediate effect manifeſted to ſenſe, doth neceſſarily in nature prooue the immediate cauſe, though hidden and vnknowne to ſenſe. That inuiſible and ſpirituall things may, by thoſe things which are viſible and bodily, be conceiued and diſcerned, the holy Scripture doth witneſſe in theſe words of Saint *Paul, Rom.* 1. 20 The inuiſible things of God (ſaith he) are ſeene by the viſible things, or by his workes in the creation of the world, which are viſible.

It may be here demanded, ſince it is the propertie of the Diuell, in his ſeeming miraculous contriuements and actions (though a limited and finite obiect creature of God) yet to indeauour to counterfeit and imitate the moſt high and mightieſt workes of wonder of the infinite Creator, thereby to magnifie, deifie, and equall himſelfe vnto God in vnbeleeuing and ſeduced hearts: Since, I ſay, this is his property, how ſhall the fraile vnderſtanding and capacitie of man diſtinguiſh the maruailes of the diuell, ſo liuely reſembled thereto, from the true miracles, and truly miraculous workes of God, that thereby with more facility, and leſſe confuſion, induſtrious mindes may diſcouer the proper workes and acts of the Diuell, and his aſſociates, Enchaunters, Witches, and Sorcerers? Firſt, the true miracles of God being tranſcendent aboue all created power, and the immediate effects only of a creating vertue, Almighty God for his ſole good will and pleaſure doth vſually and euer diſpenſe by the hands and through the adminiſtration of holy men, *Prophets* and *Apoſtles* manifeſtly called of God. Secondly, the end and ſcope of Gods miracles, directly and mainely ayme and are bent at the glory of God, and the benefit of his people, not vnto any priuate end, any particular vaine end, tending to ſatisfaction of priuate luſts and curioſitie.

For this cauſe the holy Apoſtles vſed the gift of miracles not vnto any other ends, then vnto the confirmation of that holy Goſpel, which they preached and publiſhed from God, neither did they therein aſcribe ought vnto their own

praiſe or glory, but ſolely vnto the praiſe and glory of God, and the good of his Church.

That this was their true end, and ought to be the ſcope and end of all that receiue the power of miracles from God, Saint *Paul* doth witneſſe and teach, 1. *Cor. chap.* 12. *verſe* 4,5,6,7. Now there are (ſaith he) diuerſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit: and there are diuerſities of adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord: and there are diuerſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all. But the manifeſtation of the Spirit is giuen to euery man to profit withall.

It is from hence manifeſt, that if any miracles proceede from God as Author, they are diſpenſed by men, ſanctified by God, and who can and are able to prooue and iuſtifie their warrant from God: as alſo that theſe men of God doe ſolely profeſſe and bend them vnto the glory of God, and the weale of his Church. This then is the ſquare and infallible rule by which all miracles doe ſtand or fall, and are approoued either to be of God, or conuinced to be of Diuels.

Let vs then conclude this point, with that excellent and diuine ſaying of *Theophilact*, vpon the 9. *chap.* of S. *Luke*. *Prædicatio miraculis & miracula prædicatione ſanciuntur. Multi enim ſæpe miracula ediderunt per Dæmones, ſed eorum doctrina non erat ſana, quamobrem eorum miracula non extiterunt a Deo.* That is, the word of God doth eſtabliſh and confirme the truth of miracles, and miracles ratifie and confirme the authoritie and truth of the word. For many haue done miracles by the power of the Diuell, but their doctrine was corrupt and not ſound; and therefore their miracles were not of God. Whereſoeuer therefore miracles or ſupernaturall workes ſhall dare to ſhew their heads, not contained within thoſe limits or compaſſe, that is neither prooued immediately from God himſelfe, nor mediately by him reuealed in his writ & word of truth, they are iuſtly to be ſuſpected to iſſue from the enemies of God; the Diuell, and euill Spirits, and therefore their Authors ought

to

to be accomptant therein vnto Iuſtice, and all religious Miniſters and ſeruants of God and Iuſtice, in the moſt ſtrict and ſeuere extent of Law. And thus much concerning the manifeſtation of the ſupernaturall workes of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto or through the outward Senſe.

CHAP. VII.

The workes of the Diuell or Witches manifeſt to Reaſon, or conſequence of Reaſon, and how detected.

ALl doubts being cleared, it hath vndoubtedly appeared how ſupernaturall and ſpirituall workes are apparent to ſenſe. It now followeth to declare, how likewiſe they are euident to Reaſon, or neceſſary to conſequence of Reaſon.

Thoſe things are ſaid to be proper obiects of Reaſon and vnderſtanding: which, being remote from the immediate view or notice of the outward ſenſes, are grounded vpon vniuerſall and intellectuall knowne poſitions, propoſitions, and certaine vndoubted generall notions, by neceſſary collections, or raciocinations. That we may build the foundation of this our Reaſon or Raciocination vpon the infallible truth of Gods holy Word which ſhall neuer be ſhaken: let vs for the detection of Witches and Sorcerers, by reaſon, and conſequence of reaſon, ſyllogiſe directly and immediately from God himſelfe.

Thus ſaith Almighty God, *Iſaiah chap.* 8. *verſe.* 19. And when they ſhall ſay vnto you, Enquire of thoſe that haue a Spirit of Diuination, and at the South-ſayers, which murmure and whiſper, ſhould not a people enquire of their God? Vnder this interrogatiue (ſhould not a people inquire of their God?) is vnderſtood this affirmatiue; A people ſhould enquire of no other Spirit, but of their God alone.

From this holy text and writ, reaſon doth aſſume and collect neceſſarily, and truly.

First,

First, that many things are hidden from the knowledge of man, which are reuealed vnto the ſcience and knowledge of Spirits. Otherwiſe neither would man aske or enquire of Spirits (as hath beene vſuall in all ages) neither ſhould God haue occaſion here to forbid the enquiring at Spirits. That the ignorance alſo of man in things knowne to Spirits, is the true, firſt and originall motiue or reaſon for enquiring at Spirits, is very plaine by the words of King *Saul*, 1. *Sam.* 28. 15. God is departed from me (ſaith he) vnto the viſion of *Samuel*, raiſed by the Diuell, and anſwereth me no more, neither by Prophets, neither by dreames: therefore haue I called thee, that thou maiſt tell mee what I ſhould doe.

Here is a manifeſt grant of knowledge in Spirits aboue men. Secondly, reaſon doth hence collect, that all Spirits that doe ſuffer themſelues to be enquired at, are euill Spirits, and therefore Diuels; becauſe Almighty God hath here expreſſely forbidden the enquiring at any other Spirit beſide himſelfe: and therefore good and holy Spirits will not, nor * can not diſobey the commandement of God, nor countenance or aſſiſt men in ſo doing. Thirdly, reaſon doeth neceſſarily hence conclude, that ſuch men as are enquired at for reuelations of things hidden from the skill and poſſibilitie of knowledge in man, are Sorcerers, Witches, and South-ſayers, if promiſing and performing according thereto really, and yet not warranted by God his word, nor aſſiſted by nature.

* Angeli boni non poſſunt peccare, Pet. Lomb. d. 7. l. 2.

This doth cõdemne that white Magick or Theourgia which is ſuppoſed or pretended conference with good Spirits.

The conſequence and inference of this reaſon is iuſt; for that to promiſe thoſe things, or to vndertake thoſe things which are out of their own knowledge, and ſolely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits and Diuels, doeth manifeſtly proue in the performance, their intereſt, ſocietie, and contract with Spirits and Diuels, which is Sorcery and Witch-craft.

It may bee here obiected, that there are ſome men who affect to bee reſorted vnto, and to bee enquired at in things ſuppoſed hidden from the knowledge of man, and to be reputed

puted able vnto ſuch Reuelations, though haply they practiſe to deceiue, vnder the colour of pretence, of ſuch abilitie.

It is iuſtly hereto anſwered, that this their preſumption ought to be ſeuerely enquired into, whether it doe taſte of ought that is diabolicall, of the Diuell, or ſupernaturall: and if nothing ſo doe, yet in this Grand cauſe of God himſelfe, the religious iealouſie of the prudent Magiſtrate, ought to puniſh their preſumption, which dare affect to vndertake the name or note of a ſinne, ſo odious and abominable vnto Almightie God. Let vs for better impreſſion, againe repeate and iterate thoſe things which were collected out of the propounded text.

Firſt, that there is knowledge in Spirits of things hidden, and ſeparated from the knowledge of man.

Secondly, that ſuch Spirits as are enquired at, and doe reueale ſuch knowledge vnto man, are Diuels.

Thirdly, that men which doe practiſe to be enquired at for ſuch ſuppoſed Reuelations, ought not onely to be iuſtly ſuſpected, and inquired into, but that if they be found therewithall, to know and reueale thoſe things, which are indeed and really aboue and beyond the knowledge of man, and are properly and onely in the power of Spirits; that then this doth infallibly prooue their intereſt power, and ſocietie with Diuels, which is certaine and aſſured Sorcery and Witch-craft.

And thus hath reaſon drawne a demonſtration out of the booke of God, of a certaine Witch, and manifeſt Sorcerer. Let vs now exerciſe our ſelues in the conſideration, examination, and tryall of ſome particulars herein.

It is ſaid of *Apollonius*, that he foretold the day, the houre of the day, the moment of the houre; wherein *Coccius Nerra* the Emperour ſhould die, long before the time and being in farre diſtant places remooued from him. It is reported of the ſame *Apollonius*, that being conſulted by one who for that purpoſe came vnto him, how he might grow rich, *Apollonius* appointed him to buy a certaine

field or ground, and to be carefull in tilling and plowing thereof, which after he had done a while, he found in the end a great treasure and so became rich. It is written of the same *Apollonius* also, He made knowne vnto *Titus Vespasian*, the time and manner of his death, enquiring it at his hands. These things with many other the like *Ianus Iacobus Boissardus*, relateth in the life of *Apollonius*.

Who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous and renowned *British* Wizard *Merlin*, and of his high and great esteeme among Princes for his prophesies? Vnto his fore-sight and predictions, from many foregoing ages, the successes and euents of diuers Princes affaires, in their seuerall raignes, haue beene vsually by diuers times and histories referred.

For this cause Master *Camden*, in the description of *Caermarden-shire*, doth terme him the *Tages* of the *Britans*.

Speede in his tractate of the ancient Inhabitants of great *Britaine*; as also of the life of *Aurelius*, *Ambrosius*, and of the raigne of King *Iohn*, and of *Henry* the fourth, doth out of *Malmesbury*, and others, recite diuers accidents and euents, in seuerall succeeding ages, vnto his oraculous and miraculous illuminations, ascribed to haue beene foreseene, foretold, and knowne.

If there be truth in those Oracles, and ancient foreseeing Reuelations, they doe necessarily inferre the assistance of a power, farre superiour vnto all the power of man. Therefore whosoeuer doth finde them true, must conclude their Author a Witch or Sorcerer. Neither hath the generall reception, or opinion of Authors, beene herefrom different, who haue published him the sonne of an *Incubus*, or the sonne of a Witch, begotten by the Diuell. As it is said of this ancient time-noted, and age-viewed Sorcerer; so may be testified of many other.

What shall we iudge of that infamous woman, among the French, called *Ioane* of *Arc*, by others *Ioane Pucell de Dieu? Iohn de Serres*, the French Historian, doth report that she had many miraculous Reuelations, whereof the

King

King (then *Charles* the ſeauenth) and all his Armie and men of warre, were open wondering witneſſes, and in thoſe reuelations for the moſt part, there was found no leſſe wondrous truth, then true wonder, as ſaith *Serres*, although ſome others haue iudged her an Impoſtereſſe only. By her ſole incouragement, and ſtout aſſurance of ſucceſſe, built vpon miraculous reuelations, the French proſperouſly incountred the victorious Engliſh in France, at ſeuerall times, and againſt all humane reaſon, recouered their in reaſon-vnrecouerable, and moſt deſperate ſtanding, euen neere vnto the pit of vtter downefall, with more then vnſpeakeable amazement and terrour, vnto the ſodainely confounded Engliſh.

Notwithſtanding, at length ſhee was taken priſoner by the Engliſh, executed and burnt for her Witch-craft. What ſhall wee ſay or iudge of other the like Authors, and broachers of ſupernaturall reuelations, and predictions in other times? The fore-mentioned Hiſtorian reporteth, that a Wizard foretold Duke *Biron* of his death, and that hee ſhould dye by the backe blow of a *Burguignon*, who afterward prooued his Executioner, beeing that Countrey man.

Melancton out of *Carion* doeth recite the mention of a woman, of the order of the *Druides* among the *Tungri*, who foretold *Diocleſian* that hee ſhould bee Emperour of *Rome*, when he had firſt killed a Boare, which prooued afterward one *Aper*, then an Vſurper, which in the Latine tongue ſignifieth a Boare.

Suetonius writeth of a Diuinour, who long before was able to make knowne the death, and the manner of the death, and murder of *Iulius Cæſar*.

Philippe de Commines, in his 8. booke, chap. 19. doeth make mention of one Frier *Hierome*, and of his many admirable reuelations and predictions, concerning the affaires of the King of *France*, which as from Friers owne mouth, hee himſelfe did oft heare, ſo with his owne eyes hee did witneſſe and behold their iſſue true. It was diſputed,

ſputed, whether in theſe tranſcendent reuelations the Frier were a * man of God or no, and it is doubtfully there concluded.

In theſe like reuelations and prophecies, reaſon cannot deny, but muſt acknowledge the manifeſt impreſſion and ſtampe, of more then humane Science or demonſtration. If wee deſire or affect more ſpecially to viewe what our owne Hiſtories at home afford: who can deny him a Wizard, or Witch, who as Maſter *Speede* and others teſtifie, in the reigne of *Richard* the Vſurper foretold, that vpon the ſame ſtone where hee daſh his ſpurre, riding toward *Boſworth* field, hee ſhould daſh his head in his returne: which prooued accordingly true, when being ſlaine in battell, hee was carryed naked out of the field, and his head hanging low by the horſe ſide behinde his bearer, did ſmite vpon the ſame ſtone in repaſſage, where before in paſſage hee had ſtrooken his heele and ſpurre.

What can be deemed leſſe of the Author of that prophecie in *Edward* the fourth; that is, that * *G.* ſhould murder King *Edwards* heires, which *G.* vnderſtood of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, was too true.

How can he likewiſe eſcape the iuſt ſuſpition of the ſame foule crime, from whom originally or firſt was deriued that prophecie or prediction in *Henry* the fift, concerning his ſonne, as yet then vnborne, *videlicet*, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* ſhould winne (which was *Henry* the fift) *Henry* of *Windſor* ſhould loſe (which was *Henry* the ſixt and his ſonne) as it after came truely to paſſe? Theſe things as I ſaid before, doe neceſſarily inferre a power farre ſuperiour, vnto the power of man, and therefore prooue their voluntarie vndertakers Witches, or Sorcerers. This doeth *Binſfeldius* in his Tract, *de Malef. confeſſionis*, confidently affirme in theſe words, *Referri non poſſunt ad cauſas naturales, ſed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, nempe reſponſe dare de occultis ferri, per verem, per loca remotiſſima.* That is, theſe things can haue no relation vnto naturall cauſes, namely, to giue anſwere vnto things hidden from man, to flie in the ayre, and

* Some Authors doe write, that this man was an holy man, and a man of God. If it may be proued, that he receiued thoſe his reuelations frō God. I doe ſubſcribe. If it cannot be prooued, that hee did receiue them from God, it is moſt certaine, that they were of the Diuell, ſince in ſupernaturall reuelations there can be no other medium.

* *Speede.*

and the like, but are to be attributed vnto the power of the Diuell, or Diuels.

But here may bee obiected, that since it is said by God himselfe, that no man ought to aske of any other Spirit, but of God alone, things hidden and vnreuealed to men, *Isa.* 8. *verse* 19. before alleadged; and since for that cause it is not to be doubted, that many things may be reuealed by God vnto men, for this cause and reason (I say) it may be deemed and obiected, that some of the former reuelations and prophecies may bee free from the imputation of Witch-craft, and Sorcery.

It is vnanswerably answered to this obiection: First, that all the reuelations and prophecies which are of God, are euer published by Prophets, & men of God, immediately called by God himselfe, vnto those functions and places. Secondly, those vessels, and seruants of God, which are the publishers of Gods reuelations or pophecies, doe euer auouch, and openly professe God himselfe, to bee Author thereof, from whom they onely claime, and openly proclaime their immediate, and expresse warrant and Commission, as appeareth by all the prefixions of their prophecies: Thus saith the Lord, The Word of the Lord, The burden of the Lord, The reuelation of Iesus Christ, and the like. Thirdly, the reuelations and prophecies, which are thus deriued and sent from God, carry in themselues some manifest stampe of their authority, and power from God, in some fruites or effects correspondent, and answerable to the nature, will, and pleasure of God, and are directly and originally bent, and intended vnto the glory of God, and the publike weale, and good of his Church, and people.

By these notes, and infallible markes of Gods holy prophecies and reuelations, may bee euidently discerned a cleere difference, and distinction thereof from diuellish predictions, and Sorcerous Prognostications, which therefore cannot shrowde, or hide themselues vnder colour or pretense thereof, being duely and rightly expended.

It may bee yet further obiected, that some learned and

truely religious ſeruants of God (though no publike Miniſters, of Propheticall functions or callings) haue had ſometimes their ſpeciall reuelations of ſome particular things, in which it were not onely manifeſtly iniurious, but plainly & extremely ridiculous to accompt them Witches. It is true, and cannot be denyed, that Almighty God ſometimes, by dreames, ſometimes by ſecret prodigies, doeth admoniſh ſome his priuate ſeruants, good and holy men, of ſome things to come, for their owne priuate and retired reformation, information or better preparation; not for prophane or trifling ends, or vſes, but that any prophecies or reuelations, can be of God, that are obſcurely whiſpred, or caſt abroad for ſuch vſes, by any vnwarranted or prophane Authors, without any manifeſt warrant, Commiſſion or authoritie from God, in the vpright iudgement of all men, that truely worſhip and feare the true God, the God of hoſtes, is much irreligion, and prophane credulitie to auouch, or affirme. Nay, it is altogether contrary and contradictory, and therefore impoſsible to God his miraculous reuelations, viſions and prophecies, ordinarily, or commonly to ſerue, or waite vpon the ordinary ends, or vſes of priuate men, ſince all true miracles, and miraculous reuelations are euer in their proper nature, and true end, ſolely attendant vpon God his immediate command and Word, vnto his extraordinary workes. To make it therefore ordinary, or a thing common, or of cuſtomary practice, to foretell or giue prediction of things to come, muſt neceſſarily proceede from the Diuell, ſince the gift of true propheſie, and the Spirit of true reuelation, is not ſubiected to the common or vſuall intentions of men; neither can profit or commodity, or ſale bee made thereof by men at their pleaſure, as is not vnwonted with all the diſciples of *Simon Magus*, Sorcerers and Witches, in their markets and fayres made of their prophecies and reuelations.

If then theſe whiſpered reuelations cannot bee of God, then are they neceſſarily of the Diuell. If they proceed from the Diuell, then by an ineuitable concluſion, thoſe men

men are his instruments or organs, by whom or through whom they originally flowe, or are deriued vnto men and published. It may be yet further obiected, that in men possessed by the Diuell, as were those men in the Gospel, whose bodies the Diuell did really rend and teare (in whom hee did roare and crie out) whom hee cast into the middest of the people. It may be (I say) obiected, that in those possessed and the like, there may be reuealed many things hidden from men, without the imputation or iust opinion of Witch-craft or Sorcerie in them.

That this may bee, is manifest in the Gospel, where the Diuell in the possessed vttered wordes of knowledge then hidden from men, but by extraordinary reuelation, when hee acknowledged our Sauiour to bee Iesus the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not in any possibilitie of mans reason bee knowne vnto the possessed, because it was then but in part reuealed vnto the Disciples themselues, who were as yet but learners themselues and Scholers of that Diuinitie; neither had the naturall man, or the world as yet so much as tasted, or sauoured any notice thereof.

The like may bee obiected concerning those that are obsessed. I call them obsessed, in whose bodies outwardly appearing no extraordinarie signes or tokens of the Diuels corporall presidence, or * residence in them (as was in the possessed manifest) yet are their mindes, vnderstanding, wils, and reason palpably obserued to bee besieged, captiued and inchanted, by an extraordinary and more then naturall, or rather an infernall inuasion of the Diuels illusions, for the magnifying and aduancing whereof, the Diuell doth oft-times mixe and temper them with some rare and wonderfull reuelations, by or through the obsessed deliuered.

From these obiections both concerning the possessed, and also the obsessed, doeth issue a necessary sequell, that prophecies and reuelations are not alwayes inseparable testimonies of a Witch.

* Master Perkins in his discourse of Witch craft chap. 3. pag. 121. doth diuide likewise Witches vnto such within whom the Diuell is not inwardly, but from without doeth inspire them and within whom hee is, as was the Pythonisse at Philippi, Acts 16. 16.

It

It is truely hereto anſwered, that ſolely and ſimply reuelations are not ſufficient euidences, or conuictions of a Witch, or Sorcerer, but with difference and diſtinction.

Supernaturall reuelations vnrequiredly transfuſed and transferred by the Diuell, doe not prooue the perſons in whom they are found, to bee their owne free or deſirous Agents in conſent therein, but rather properly and truely the Diuels Patients, and therefore it cannot be their guilt, but his intruſion, vſurpation, and inſidiation: but ſupernaturall reuelations, in which any man ſhall knowingly, and delibrately conſult with, or inquire at a knowne Spirit, and inioying the free libertie of his will, not depraued or corrupted by illuſions or diſeaſes, ſhall with conſent or allowance thereof entertaine, commerce conference or aſſiſtance of Spirits vnto that purpoſe: ſuch reuelations (I ſay) whereſoeuer truely and duely detected, doe demonſtratiuely and infallibly point on a Witch or Sorcerer, by what way ſoeuer hee doe practiſe with the Diuell, whether by coniuration, ſpels, or other Magicke rites, or by vulgar trading with him, by familiar ſpeech and expreſſe contract, as is moſt vſuall with vulgar and vnlearned Witches. It is not the different manner of contracting, or couenanting with the Diuell, that maketh a new or a different ſpecies of a Witch, for by what name ſoeuer, in what manner ſoeuer, any man doeth contract with the Diuell, hee is a Witch or Sorcerer, ſaith *Binsfeldius*, and inuocateth the Diuell.

Although therefore the poſſeſſed, or obſeſſed, are iuſtly acquite in their reuelations and prophecies, becauſe tranſmitted or ſent vnrequired, and vnknowingly vnto them, yet cannot the Witch or Sorcerer bee any thing at all aduantaged, or cleared in his reuelations, which are euer detected to bee both by him affected (as is prooued by his mercinarie ſale thereof) and alſo are fore-thought and premeditate, as is euident by his promiſed and couenanted vndertaking thereof, according to conditions or agreement.

That

That we may make this point yet more cleere, let vs yet farther examine, and consider what Witch-craft is. These are the expresse wordes of *Binsfeldius* a Papist Diuine, in his tract *de Confessionibus Sagarum & Veneficorum. Vt fiat maleficium hæc tria concurrant necesse est inquit, Deus permittens, secundo Diaboli potestas, tertio hominis malefici voluntas libere consentiens.* That is, vnto Witch-craft three things necessarily concurre: first God permitting: secondly the Diuell working: thirdly, man thereto consenting or yeelding his free-will. Vnto the very same purpose, saith a learned Protestant Diuine our countriman, *Perkins* in his description of Witch-craft, including the worke or assistance of the Diuell, the permission of God, and a wicked art freely practised by man, and chap. 5. of his discourse of Witch-craft, hee pronounceth also him a Witch, whosoeuer wittingly or willingly consenteth to vse the aide or assistance of the Diuell, in the working of wonders aboue the ordinary course of nature. I name these two Diuines onely, because in this particular they seeme to mee to haue best satisfied, and by the common consent both of Papist, and Protestant Diuines, the trueth doeth more vncontrouersedly appeare Catholike and firme, most other learned men that I haue seene on both parts, hauing generally or for the most part comparatiuely beene defectiue. *Scaliger* in his booke *de Subtilitate*, consenteth with them both, *exercit.* 347. where speaking of the impossibilitie, of one man hurting another meerely by bare wordes, hee hath these wordes.

There is a greater power then wordes saith hee, namely, the Diuell doeth the mischiefe vpon the vttering of such words; and the foolish sottish man, that pronounceth or vttereth them, supposeth that by vertue of his words it is done. *Ipse igitur agit Dæmon (inquit) stultus & vecors putat suis se verbis agere*; vnto the same effect are the words of S. *Augustine*, by Magicke Art saith hee, miracles and things aboue nature are brought to passe, *Miracula Magicis artibus fiunt. lib. 3. de Trinitate.* The word Magicke

doeth insinuate, or imploy, or include both a Diuell, and a supernaturall effect or miracle, as in the former words of *Scaliger*, also the supernaturall effect and consequent of mumbling, argued a power in them aboue the power of a meere voyce, or speech, which therefore saith *Scaliger*, was the Diuell. In both likwise, the will and consent of man was apparent. In the first, where S. *Augustine* calleth Magicke an Art, that imployeth a mans consent, for that Artes are willingly, and wittingly studied by man. In the second, where *Scaliger* in the mumbling of words of supernaturall effect, affirmeth that the foolish man who vttered them, supposed those effects to proceed from his words; his vttering therefore such words, with that expectance, prooued his liking and consent vnto such effects. And thus it is vndoubtedly apparent, by these Authors in their descriptions of Magicke, and Witch-craft, that necessarily by consent of reason, though not alwayes in expresse wordes, is vnderstood and included, both something supernaturall, and the will and consent of man thereto. And this may yet bee made apparent, by the words of the same *Scaliger*, *Exercit.* 327. *Magi (inquit) suas effectiones violentias appellant: propterea quod vires suas supra eas, quæ naturæ ordine fieri videntur exercent.* That is, Magitians tearme their workes violencies, because they exercise violent force, or power, aboue the course or order of humane nature. The Magitians giuing names vnto their workes, aboue humane power or nature, and boasting them as their owne, doth prooue their free will and consent. Those their workes being supernaturall, doe prooue them to bee of the Diuell, as the very vsuall vnderstanding of the word Magitian, whereby they are ordinarily tearmed, doeth testifie. And thus it is manifest. First, that in Witch-craft the effect or worke done is supernaturall, aboue the reach and power of man. Secondly, that in that worke the Magitian, or Witch, hath a willing interest.

And hence now is manifest also, what Witch-craft is, namely, a worke or effect, aboue the nature or power of man,

man, wherein notwithſtanding is the will, conſent, and aſſent of man. This no man can deny, the demonſtration being ſo euident.

It now followeth to enquire, how this Witch-craft ſhall bee detected, or diſcouered; Secondly, how ſhall mans free will, or conſent therein be diſcouered. Vnto the firſt, is eaſily anſwered, *videlicet*, the ſupernaturall worke or effect doeth appeare by it ſelfe, when it is manifeſt and apparent aboue the nature, reach, and power of man, ſuch as are diuers effects and workes formerly mentioned. Vnto the ſecond I anſwere, that mans free will, good will, conſent, aſſent, or allowance therein is diſcouered by the ſame true actes or meanes, whereby any man his conſent or aſſent is vſually diſcouered, indicted, and arraigned in the caſe of Treaſon, Murder, Fellonie.

In caſe of Treaſon, Murder, Fellonie, conſent is diſcouered in vſuall courſe and practiſe of the Law, either by ſome manifeſt act promoting or furthering thoſe wicked intents, or by conniuence therein: by wilfully not ſeeing, or by ſilence, or not reuealing,

As therefore in thoſe hainous crimes iuſtly; ſo in this high Treaſon againſt God, and adherence vnto his enemie the Diuell, in like manner any man his wicked aſſent, content, or good liking, is to be traced and diſcouered by any act tending vnto the promoting thereof, by his conniuing, willingly concealing, or ſilence: For as in caſe of Treaſon, Murther, Fellonie, whoſoeuer permitteth or admitteth any of thoſe crimes, whoſoeuer only conſenteth thereto, conniueth, keepeth counſell, or concealeth, is iuſtly by the law held, iudged, and condemned as a Traytor, Murderer, or Fellon himſelfe; So by the ſame equitie and reaſon in high Treaſon againſt God (ſuch as is Witch-craft and adhering vnto the Diuell his enemie) whoſoeuer ſhall conſent thereto, conniue, or giue allowance is certainly a Witch himſelfe, and guilty of Witchcraft. This is the reaſon why all Writers, with one conſent doe as well hold and condemne for Witchcraft the tacit contract as the expreſſe.

Wherein in expreſſe tearmes vocally any man couenanteth with the Diuell, or contracteth. A tacit contract is, when any man taketh vpon him to doe, that by naturall cauſes, which cauſes are allowed no ſuch effects in courſe of nature, nor yet are allowed vnto any ſuch effects beſide the courſe of nature; Either by God, his Word, or by the Ordinances of his Church. To this effect expreſſely ſaith *Binsfeldius lib. de Confeſſ. Malefic.: & Sagarum: Tacitè (inquit) inuocatur Dæmon quoties quis contendit illud, facere per cauſes naturales, quæ nec virtute ſua naturali, neque ex Diuina, aut Eccleſiaſtica poſſunt illud facere.* To the ſame purpoſe ſaith *Perkins cap.* 5. of his diſcourſe of Witch-craft, giuing allowance, ſaith he, vnto meanes not allowed by God maketh a Witch. That there are ſuch effects, the ſame Author doth inſtance in another place, in theſe words, *Referri (inquit) non poſſunt ad cauſas naturales ſed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, ferri per aerem dare reſponſa de occultis*; That is, theſe effects cannot be referred vnto any naturall cauſes, but vnto the power of Diuels, namely, to flye in the ayre, to reueale things hidden from man. For this cauſe alſo ſaith *Perkins*, Diuining of things to come peremptorily, conuinceth the Author a Witch.

To conclude therefore, whoſoeuer taketh vpon him to doe theſe things, or the like, and cannot iuſtifie them done according vnto the vertue or power of naturall cauſes, or (if beſides courſe of nature) cannot prooue or warrant them to be of God, neither by his Word, nor Ordinance of his Church, that man is a Magitian, a Witch, or Sorcerer. But here it is requiſite, and fit that men doe diſtinguiſh betweene things vnwarrantably done beſide courſe of nature; and therefore neceſſarily to be tryed and iudged by thoſe rules of Gods Word, and Church. And betweene thoſe things, which are likewiſe vnwarrantably done, but are aboue the courſe of nature, yet are likewiſe to be tried by the ſame rules, and limits of Gods Word, and Church.

For as beſides courſe of nature are many things, as Sacraments

craments, rites, Ceremonies. Which are to haue allowance of their being from the ſame limitations, or elſe are to be condemned. So there are things aboue nature as miracles, which alſo are to haue their allowance, and approbation by the former rules.

It followeth therefore neceſſarily from hence, that whatſoeuer ſupernaturall effect, or aboue the power, or nature of man doth happen, and is not warranted or allowed by God, his Word, or Church, that certainly is of the Diuell. If it be of the Diuell, then whoſoeuer doth allow, yeeld his good will, conſent, or by any way or meanes, or art doth promote or further, it is a Witch, as he who in Treaſon, or Murther, conniueth or conſenteth, is a Traytor or Murderer as is aforeſaid. That a ſupernaturall worke, or an effect aboue nature, is to be held Diabolicall, is not only prooued by examination and triall of God, his Word, and Church, but reaſon it ſelfe doth alſo demonſtrate it. Euery ſupernaturall effect, hath a ſupernaturall cauſe. Euery ſupernaturall cauſe is God, or the Diuell, there being no meane betweene, but one or the other. Good Angels or ſpirits doe worke their ſupernaturall effects alſo or aboue nature, but thoſe their ſupernaturall workes are alwaies directed and commanded by God, and therefore are of God, and carrie with them euidence immediate from God. All ſupernaturall workes that are of God, are warranted from God. Therefore whatſoeuer ſupernaturall worke cannot be warranted of God, is of the Diuell. Whether it may be warranted to be of God, will appeare eaſily by the former limitations and rules. If therefore a ſupernaturall worke appeare not to be of God, by the former limitations, and examination; then is it certainly of the Diuell. By neceſſary conſequence, therefore of reaſon it followeth, that whoſoeuer vnto any ſuch effect or worke, thus demonſtratiuely diſcouered to be of the Diuell, doth giue any allowance or conſent, though neuer ſo tacitly, or cloſely, yea though ignorant of the qualitie or degree of the ſin, yet in his raſh and vnaduiſed and inconſiderate yeelding or

conniuing therein, he is guiltie, acceſſary, and a very Witch himſelfe, as is aforeſaid in caſe of Treaſon, and the like grieuous offences againſt a Prince or State. For the ignorance of the law excuſeth no man, yea and in this particular, So many faire directions by learned Writers giuen, doth leaue men inexcuſable, and maketh ignorance wilfull, and reſolute, and excludeth eaſie pardon. Neither can the moſt ſimple ignorance iuſtifie any man, although it may qualifie the degree or grieuouſneſſe of puniſhment.

If this law ſeeme ſtrict and hard. Let men conſider the greatneſſe, and grieuouſneſſe of the ſinne, and the pernicious conſequence thereof. Which iuſtly doth vrge, and impoſe the neceſſary; fearefull rigour, and ſtrictneſſe of the law. The neceſſitie and equitie hereof is apparent in caſe of high Treaſon aforeſaid againſt a Prince, or State, wherein vſually they who are ſimply, or ignorantly drawne, or vſed, or are inſtruments in any ſort, to further or promote the miſchiefe, are as well lyable vnto the ſeuere inquiſition, and terrible cenſure of the law, as are they who were the maine plotters and contriuers. Witchcraft is high Treaſon againſt God himſelfe, a combining, and adhering vnto his enemie the Diuell, a deſperate renouncing of God and all goodneſſe, and a worſhip of Diuels. In this abominable ſinne therefore, in any kinde or ſort, in any manner or action, to befriend, aide or conuince is no leſſe then high Treaſon againſt God alſo, wherein as well the acceſſarie as the principall are both guiltie. Whoſoeuer therefore ſhall in matter of this high nature or danger, dare or hazard to doe any thing that may be queſtioned or iuſtly ſuſpected in that kinde, or to tend thereto, cannot be by his ignorance excuſed.

Thus Obiections doubts and impediments remooued, let vs build a neuer-deceiuing, and inuiolate concluſion concerning Witches, vpon this neuer-failing nor ſhaken foundation: that is, all ſupernaturall workes reuelations or propheeies whatſoeuer, that iſſue not either immediately, and manifeſtly from God himſelfe, or from his Word

or

or Church allowed (the proofe and touchſtone whereof hath beene before touched, and briefely declared) or from the Diuell in the ignorant poſſeſſed or obſeſſed, or are not counterfeit and impoſturous (which is likewiſe elſe-where in the due place conſidered) all other reuelations or works (I ſay) whatſoeuer, not excepted nor included in one of theſe, are vndoubtedly iſſuing from Witches and Sorcerers, and are certaine and demonſtratiue proofes and euidences of Witch-craft and Sorcery, in whom they are originally firſt detected. And thus how Reaſon doth cull and draw forth a Witch or Sorcerer, hath euidently beene cleared and declared.

CHAP. VIII.

Of diuers kindes and manners, wherein Sorcerers and Witches, receiue knowledge from Spirits.

AS Almightie God hath out of the Text before mentioned, *Iſaiah* 8. in generall made euident, who is infallibly a Witch or Sorcerer: ſo hath he in other places of Scripture manifeſted ſome of their ſeuerall kinds, according to the different ſhapes and formes, in which they doe enquire at Spirits for their knowledge and reuelations.

This is apparent out of the 18. *chap.* of *Deuteronomie, verſe* 10. Let none bee found amongſt you that vſeth Witch-craft. What Witch-craft is, was before out of the Prophet *Iſaiah* declared.

Now in this place doth follow the enumeration of ſome of the ſpeciall or particular ſhapes in which they ſhroud themſelues. Let none be found among you (ſaith the Prophet) that vſeth Witch-craft: and immediatly after doth adde thoſe particular formes in which they enquire: A regarder of times: a marker of the flying of fowles: a Charmer: a Sooth-ſayer, or that asketh counſell of the dead. As therefore before we prooued, that the infallible true note of a Witch in generall, and in common vnto all Witches,

ches, and Sorcerers, of what kinde ſo euer, is to be enquired at in things hidden from men (as is likewiſe by thoſe words of *Saul* apparent, *Sam.* 1. *chap.* 28. *verſe* 7. Seeke mee a woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may goe to her and aske of her:) ſo here in this text are reckoned vp ſome of their ſeuerall ſhapes, by which in true and ſound reaſon, and the due conſequent thereof, we may conſider and collect many other, though not here numbred, or mentioned.

For ſince the common and inſeparable ſigne or marke of Witches is certainely made knowne to bee, the practiſe of reuealing vnto men that enquire thoſe things which are hidden from men, and onely reuealed by Spirits: it followeth by neceſſarie conſequent, that not onely thoſe which are here ſpecially nominated, in that ſhape of marking of the flying of fowles, or of charming, or of raiſing the dead, but all other whatſoeuer, in what other ſhape ſo euer that is, hath, or can be deuiſed, that ſhall be found to practiſe or vndertake to be enquired at, and to giue anſwer and reuelation of things ſeparated from the knowledge of man, and which God hath hidden from men, and therefore hath forbidden by Spirits to be made knowne to men; all ſuch (I ſay) in what ſhape ſo euer, as well in theſe kinds here named, are, according to the generall note of a Witch, to be iudged Witches and Sorcerers.

For as the holy Scripture hath nominated and pointed out vnto vs ſome few kinds, as a light onely vnto all the reſt: ſo may common experience by theſe bring others vnto our view, and all ages haue vpon the records of time and Hiſtorie, left vnto ſucceeding poſteritie, many ſhapes more of memorable and famous Witches, not onely in theſe ſhapes and formes ſhrowded, which are here mentioned but in many other.

Beſides thoſe kinds therefore, which here the holy Scripture hath nominated, let vs take a ſhort view of ſome other, which are in other ſhapes found (ſince all are in their common kinde and nature the ſame.) It is no ſtrange thing,

that

that in the shape, and vnder the pretense of *Astrologie*, some men haue hidden sorcerous practise, and performing vnder the colour thereof such things as were onely in the power of Spirits, haue thereby cleerely manifested, that they deriued and borrowed them of Spirits. *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his historie *de rebus Danicis*, doth make mention of a sort of Wizards, who would vndertake for gaine, to foretell the certaine state and constitution of weather to come so assuredly, that they would vsually sell vnto Marchants prosperous and fortunate windes, when by aduerse and opposite gales they were deteyned from their intended voyage. Astrologers

This kinde of Sorcerer may very rightly be referred vnto that which in *Deuter.* 18. *verse* 10. is noted by a regarder of times, which perhaps may also not vnaptly be vnderstood a *Magicall Astrologer*. His performance aboue the nature and power of his Art, of that which is onely in the power of a Spirit, doth both detect the Diuell to be chiefe Author of the workes, and the other to be also guilty to the worke.

That the professors of *Astrologie* haue in former ages vnto *Astrologie* ioyned this diuellish skill and custome; as also other kinds of Diabolicall Diuinations, plainely doth appeare.

First, by the word of God, *Daniel* 2. *verse* 2. wherewith the *Astrologers*, the *Caldeans*, *Magicians*, *Sorcerers* and *Enchanters* are conioyned.

Secondly, it doth appeare by the Lawes, which by the Romane Emperours were prouided against them ioyntly together, with Caldeans, Magicians, and Southsayers. The words of one ancient Law are, *Nemo Aruspicem consulat, aut Mathematicum, nemo Ariolum, Caldeum, Magum*; that is, let it be enacted or ordered that no man aske counsell of a South-sayer, a Mathematician, an Astrologer, a Caldean, a Magician.

Dion in the 27. booke of Historie, doth make mention of Astrologers, who by diuellish skill practised and vsed to

This kinde of Diuell is called, ὀνειροπομπος.

send the Diuell to present * dreames vnto men in their sleepe; for which cause *Tiberius* the Emperour reuenged himselfe vpon such Astrologers, though otherwise himselfe a great friend and louer of Astrologie. Sir *Christopher Heydon* in his defence of iudiciall Astrologie, doth out of *Ostander* recite this distinction of Astrologie: * *Astrologia pura quæ nihil habet de Magia*, that is, Astrologie that is not mixed, nor intermedleth with Magicke. Whereby is necessarily concluded, that Astrology may be, and sometimes is impure and defiled with Magicke and Sorcerie. In other places of the same worke, he maketh a difference betweene Astrologers * simply, and such as with Astrologie ioyned Magicke. And out of *Brentius* he reciteth these words, *Non negat Hierimias eam partem Astrologiæ, quæ sequitur manifestas naturæ rationes*; that is, the Prophet *Ieremy* doth not deny or condemne that part of Astrologie, which is guided by manifest reason or cause in nature. Hereby then is vnauoidably concluded, that the Prophet of God condemneth that part of Astrologie, which exceedeth causes and reason in nature, and that necessarily must needs be Sorcery and Magicke. As it is not obscure, that some men vnder the colour of Astrologie haue practised Magicke and Sorcery; so is it no lesse euident, that many others, vnder the pretense of aduising and counselling in Physicke. For curation or Prognostication of diseases, haue likewise exercised the same diuelliſh practise.

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That this hath beene no new vpstart custome, the multitude of diseases, which ancient times doe register to haue beene cured by enchaunted Spells, and words, and Magicke skill, doeth plentifully witnesse. The most ancient father of all Physicke and Physicions, the incomparable worthy founder of Method and Art, [a] *Hippocrates*, [b] *Dioscorides*, [c] *Theophrastus*, with other succeeding Ancients, doe generally all acknowledge the force and power of *Magicall* curation. *Galen* in his younger time gaue no credit thereto, but in the more aged [d] experience of right obseruation he doeth acknowledge it. I will not stuffe this small Trea-

a Hipp. libro de Sacro morbo de Magis.
b Dioscor. li. 2. cap. 103.
c Theophrastus de hist. Plant. Tralli-anus. lib. 9. cap. 4.
d Galenus li. de Medica Homeri tractatione.

tise

tise with the particular citation of euery Author. Later Physicians also of the best and most choise note, doe herein, with former ages consent and concurre, and experience doeth confirme trueth in both.

Whosoeuer is acquainted with bookes and reading, shall euery where meete a world of the wonders of cures, by words, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites. As what the practise of former ages hath beene is manifest; so what our age and later time doeth herein afford, is almost no where in this kingdome obscure. The neerest vnto that impudence, which herein this our time doeth produce and set foorth, is that history of a *Germane* Witch, reported in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

There was (as the Author of that worke saith) sometime a Sorceresse in *Germany*, who vsually cured not onely all that were bewitched, but all kinde of diseased people, so farre beyond all power or course of Art and Nature, and with such facility, that all vse of the Art of Physicke, or of Physicions was altogether (for a time) neglected and forsaken; while people from all Countries, both neere and remote, in such numbers and frequence resorted vnto her, that the Gouernour of that Countrey imposing vpon euery man one penny that resorted vnto her, thereby raised himselfe a mighty treasure.

What others among the most ancient Author, that are not Physicians doe publish, concerning the power of incantations in the curing of diseases is needlesse to write. Hee that hath read any few lines of old *Homer*, or of diuers other aged Poets, shall finde plentifull record hereof. *Herodotus* is not silent herein. But to omit all their needlesse testimonies, Physicians of these last times, of the most eminent note and worth (whose pennies are yet scarce drie) doe witnesse the trueth hereof from their owne knowledge, sight and experience. Aboue the rest, *Fernelius de Abditis rerum causis*, is worthy any mans paines or view.

Let vs now lastly see what may bee collected out of the

booke of God, concerning the power of the Diuell in curing diſeaſes, from whom all theſe inferiour Agents, Witches and Sorcerers doe deriue their power and skill. If it bee in his power, where God doeth permit, to induce diſeaſes, it muſt needes bee in his power to ceaſe or calme diſeaſes; becauſe both cauſing and curing, conſiſt in the vertue and force of the ſame meanes. Hee therefore that knoweth how and by what cauſe the diſeaſe is induced, doeth neceſſarily vnderſtand, that by the remouall of that cauſe it is cured, and according to that rule can equally, as well by remouall of that cauſe, cure, as by the induction of the cauſe bring ſickeneſſe. For this reaſon it is a maxime in Phyſicke infallible, that he is the moſt excellent Phyſician, who knoweth beſt the cauſes of diſeaſes, and who vpon the knowledge of their true cauſes doeth found the right method of their curation.

That the Diuell doeth both know the cauſes of diſeaſes, and alſo how by them to procure and produce diſeaſes, is manifeſt by the Hiſtory of *Iob*, vpon whom he brought that grieuous generall botch and byle, ouer all his body, *Iob chap. 2. verſe 7.* That hee did this by the force of cauſes in nature, muſt needes bee euident. Firſt, becauſe hee is a creature, and ſubiect and limited by nature vnto and within her liſts; and therefore is not able abſolutely and ſimply without cauſes and meanes in nature, to produce any effects in nature, although our ignorance of his power and knowledge (becauſe it ſo farre excelleth our power or nature) doeth call all his workes iuſtly ſupernaturall. Secondly, for that byles and botches are knowne naturall diſeaſes; and therefore had naturall cauſes, although haply vnknowne to any man, and beyond the nature of knowledge or skill in man.

* Creatio eſt conſtitutio ſubſtantiæ ex nihilo, Scali. de Subt. Exercit. vi. Sect. 13

Theſe reaſons of the Diuels impoſſibilitie, to worke thoſe effects without nature, are thus yet more briefly and cleerely made infallible. Of * nothing ſimply to produce any thing vnto a true being and exiſtence, is the ſole and proper worke of any infinite Creator, and impoſsible vnto

any

any creature. Therefore the Diuell being a creature, could not bring thoſe diſeaſes vpon *Iob*, but by created meanes preexiſting in created nature, in which he is contained and limited. And thus much concerning that kinde of Witch and Sorcerer, which is enquired at concerning the curing and iſſue of diſeaſes, which we will conclude with this note, that all learned men of the beſt experience haue obſerued; that in thoſe cures by Witches and Sorcerers, the Diuell hath neuer perfectly healed, but for a time; or elſe where hee hath ſeemed moſt perfectly to cure, it hath beene for a reſeruation of the body by him cured, vnto a greater and further miſchiefe in time to ſucceede. Beſides, this kinde of Witch, by meanes vnknowne to man, or by a ſupernaturall vertue in knowne meanes, aboue and beyond their nature, vndertaking to cure the ſicke, or to foretell the euent and iſſues of diſeaſes, there is alſo another kind which doeth vndertake to bee enquired at for extraordinary reuelation of ſuch diſeaſed perſons, as are bewitched or poſſeſſed by the Diuell. This kinde is not obſcure, at this day ſwarming in the Kingdome, whereof no man can bee ignorant, who luſteth to obſerue the vncontrouled libertie and licenſe of open and ordinary reſort in all places vnto wiſe-men, and wiſe-women, ſo vulgarly termed for their reputed knowledge concerning ſuch diſeaſed perſons as are ſuppoſed to be bewitched.

Wiſemen and Wiſewomen.

But it may bee obiected, that many of theſe two laſt mentioned ſorts are rather deceiuers, and Impoſtors onely, who by an opinion of this power, and not by any reall power herein, doe deceiue, ſeduce, and beguile the people. This cannot in ſome be denied: notwithſtanding leaſt impious impoſture bee ſtill tolerated to bee a couert to hide the manifeſt diuelliſh practiſe of Witches, vnder pretenſe thereof (whereby it ſhall euer continue in this ſhape neglected or vnſpied) I will both briefely giue ſatisfaction how the one may bee diſtinguiſhed from the other, and alſo declare how men ceaſing to enquire at Diuels and Witches, or Impoſtors, may learne to enquire of their

God alone, and by the light of nature and reason (which hee hath giuen vnto them) in his feare, with his allowance and approbation, more truely and certainely informe themselues.

CHAP. IX.

Of Wizards and Impostors; how they differ from Witches.

HOw Witch-craft in diuers kinds may, according to euidence of reason, be detected, hath beene before made manifest. How imposture may be discouered (sense there is so good vse and necessitie of the distinction thereof, for the more perfect separating and setting a part of Witch-craft by it selfe) wee will likewise briefly make manifest.

* Qui oculos fallent, alia pro aliis subditia ostentantes, ii præstigiatores ab antiquis dicti sunt. Scaliger. Impostura ab eo dicta, quod adulterinas merces, pro veris supponit, Vlpian. Impostores dicuntur versuti & fallaces homines, qui merces adulterinas pro veris supponunt, Accursius.

* The Impostor is he who pretendeth truth, but intendeth falshood. For this cause sometimes vnder an holy pretense, he maketh God the [a] Author of his vnholy prestigiation; and slandereth God vnto his face, sometimes to be reputed an [b] Angell of light, he maketh himselfe a license to counterfeit the Diuell. He proposeth it his trade to seduce, and liueth by lying. Sometimes in shew and pollicitation he is a Witch but in the performance of the greater sinne hee is lesse iust, and in the personate resemblance solely a Iugler. For as the Witch performeth that which in true, and infallible reason is transcendent and aboue nature; so the Impostor performeth that which in false and fallible reason and opinion, onely seemeth parallel.

Hence as Witches doe strange and supernaturall workes, and truely vnto reason worthy of wonder; so the Impostor doth things voide of accomptable reason, in shadow, shew, and seeming onely supernaturall, wondred and admired. And hence it commeth to passe, that with vndiscerning mindes, they are sometimes mistaken and confounded * on for another.

a Ephes. 4. 14.
b Col. 2. 23.

* See Reginald Scot in his discouerie of Witch-craft, where in regard of the seeming likenesse of Impostures and Witch-craft, erroneously he confoundeth them as one and the selfe same sinne.

From hence it is alſo neceſſarily concluded, that as Witchcraft is diſcouered by a ſupernaturall worke aboue reaſon, whereto the Witches conſent is acceſſary; ſo an Impoſtor is detected by a worke voide of accomptable reaſon, but in a deceiuing falſe Viſar or ſhew, wherewith the purpoſe and intention of the Deceiuer or Impoſtor doth concurre. As therefore the ſuſpected Witch is tyed to anſwere vnto any iuſt doubt, which may bee directly vrged againſt his or her manifeſt voluntary action, that is prooued ſupernaturall: ſo is a truely doubted Impoſtor bound to giue ſatisfaction, for ſuch his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reaſon appeare fraudulent, vaine, preſtigious, iuggling, couzening, or deceiuing. And thus ſhall each appeare in his owne true ſhape apart. Of diuers kinds of Witchcraft, I haue before produced examples.

I may here likewiſe very pertinently, for further illuſtration, propoſe ſome examples of Impoſture in generall, that the odiouſneſſe of this foule ſinne may appeare more foule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully diſcouered. *Examples of Impoſture in generall.*

Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely ſome few, whereof ſome conſiſt in lewd and guilefull contriuement of action, other in the bewitching power of falſe prophecies, reuelations, predictions, and prognoſtications.

Concerning the firſt, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impoſtures of *Mahomet*, who by guilefull counterfeit miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated workes, firſt magnified and ſet vp that heatheniſh * *Empire*, and Religion of the blaſphemous *Turkes*? *Example* 1

The Hiſtory of *Sebaſtian*, the pretended Portugall King, as it is ſet forth by *Iohn de Serres*, according to Maſter *Grimſtones* tranſlation thereof (if he were a true Impoſtor indeede, and were not iniuriouſly traduced, and blurred with vndeſerued reproch) is an incomparable example, aboue and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himſelfe. 2. * Polidorus Virgil lib. 7. cap. vlt.

If we deſire more neere or domeſticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of *Henry* the ſeuenth, * a boy of meane * *Speede.*

meane parentage, through impoſturous machinations oppoſed, ſet vp and crowned King in Ireland, againſt that famous and renowned Prince *Henry* the ſeuenth, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England.

4. In the late raigne of Queene *Mary*, there aroſe an Impoſtor, ſtiling himſelfe *Edward* the ſixth. The danger of the progreſſe of that Impoſtor (if it had preuailed) who knoweth not? The manifeſt wrongs, iniuries, and impeachments alſo from counterfeit prophecies, reuelations, and predictions, iſſuing not only vnto priuate men and families, but vnto Kingdomes, Empires, and Common-weales, are infinite.

5. *Iulian*, an *Emperour* of *Rome*, though otherwiſe a mightie and learned Prince, and valiant ſouldier, by a prophecie of an Impoſtreſſe or ſeeming Pythoniſſe, promiſing his conqueſt, and triumph ouer the Kingdome of *Perſia*, was thither haſtened vnto his deſerued death, and the vengeance of God vpon his infamous *Apoſtaſie*.

6. It is reported by *Iohn de Serres*, the French Cronicler, that the power and force of ſome pretended reuelations, and viſions of a young Shepheard, in the raigne of *Charles* the ſeuenth King of France, was ſo preualent, that it perſwaded *Pothon* that great and famous French Captaine, with the Marſhall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious Engliſh in the bowels of that Kingdome; by which vnaduiſed attempt, the French were ſuppriſed and taken by the Engliſh.

7. It is recorded by the ſame Author, that one *Martha Broſier*, counterfeiting the fits and paſſions of ſuch as were poſſeſſed, in ſhort time became ſo powerfull in illuſion, that ſhe miniſtred much matter of wonder and amazement, not onely vnto priuate men, but vnto the Kings Counſell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea vnto the whole Parliament, vntill the counterfeit Diuell induring ſome puniſhment and reſtraint, forſooke his pretended poſſeſsion.

8. If wee require examples in our owne countrey, behold, in the raigne of *Edward* the fourth, his brother *George*

* Duke

* Duke of *Clarence*, was hastened vnto his vntimely death, * *Speede.*
euen by the allowance of his brother King, vpon the feare of a vaine and flying prophecie, that *G.* of King *Edwards* heires should be the murtherer.

In the time of *Henry* the eight, the holy Maide of *Kent* 9.
by her seeming miraculous reuelations, deceiuing not onely the common sort, but euen diuers learned and some men of the best ranke, and prime note, stirred vp in the King great iealousie, and feare of his Crowne and safety, as by the records of her attaindour doeth appeare, wherein doeth stand prooued and sentenced her treason-some imposture of most dangerous consequent, if it had obtained equall issue.

In the same kings raigne, the bewitching esteeme, credit, 10.
and hope of force & vertue in counterfeit predictions, and pretended reuelations, whet the ambitious heart of *Edward* * *Lord Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, first into high * *Speede.*
Treason, and to reach at the Crowne, and after from thence thrust him headlong or headlesse into his graue.

In the raigne of *Edward* the sixt, there was a prophecie 11.
diuulged from the mouth of some pretended Wizard; by which the coniuration of *Kett*, and those *Norfolke* Rebels, was hartned and encouraged to proceede in their rebellion and outrage, vnto the great danger and damage of the Kingdome, and in the end vnto their owne destruction: That blind pretended prophecie, in the insidiation of vaine and credulous mindes, was somewhat like vnto that ambiguous Oracle in the Poet.

Aio, te Æacida Romanos vincere posse:
I say, the sonne of Æacus the Romane power shall quell.

This Oracle may on either side indifferently, either actiuely or passiuely bee vnderstood. Like vnto it was that prestigious prophecie, which the rebellious *Norfolcians* with their *Kett* trusted:

Hob, Dic, *and* Hic *with clubbes and clouted ſhoone,*
Shall fill vp Duſſin-dale *with ſlaughtered bodies ſoone.*

The Rebels vnderſtanding this blinde reuelation, or prediction, concerning the victory wherein they themſelues ſhould bee Agents and not Patients, (as afterward their owne ruine did truely interpret it) and dreaming the filling vp of the *Duſſin dale* to be intended of other mens dead bodies, and not their owne, where thereby incited with furious courage, vnto the hazard of the kingdome and their natiue Country, vntill their owne mangled and ſlaughtered carcaſes became butchered ſpectacles, and bloody monuments of ſuch illuſion and impoſture.

12. How many other fearefull and horrid treaſons haue bin built and grounded vpon other the like prodigious impoſtures? To recite the damages and wrongs done vnto priuate men by impoſture in manifold kinds, were infinite. * *Speede.* What ſhould wee mention *Prior* * *Bolton* of S^t. *Bartholmewes* in *London*, who in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, vpon the impreſſion of an vniuerſall World floud, grounded vpon pretended miraculous predictions, ridiculouſly buildeth himſelfe an houſe or neaſt on the top of Harrow hill, to ſaue himſelfe from drowning?

What mighty terrors did the wicked impoſturous predictions of ſtrange euents in the admirable yeere 88. ſtrike into the common people or vulgars of England? from whence, what different diſtractions in many priuate men did bring foorth, to relate, were iuſt matter of profound laughter. What tranſlations of dwellings, peregrinations into other Countries, exchange of inheritances for monies, and other ridiculous extrauagant molitions did the approach of that yeere diuerſly prepare? I will not waſte paper in any more * particular recitals: Our later age and time hath not beene barren of many wicked and harmefull fruites of impoſturous prophecies, neither haue they altogether eſcaped the eye of Iuſtice, nor the blurre of infamy written

* Philippe de Commines, booke 4. cha. 10. taxeth our Engliſh Nation for the multitude and vanity of flying Prophecies in this kinde.

written in their names and chronicled memory. And although many impostures (becauſe practiſed vpon priuate and more obſcure perſonages) are leſſe knowne and publiſhed, then ſuch as are committed againſt Princes and States, and therefore are more remarkeable in the eyes of all men, yet are they both equally in their natures pernicious. It were not now impertinent from the declaration of the miſchiefes of impoſture in generall, to deſcend vnto ſome ſuch in particular, as are practiſed vnder the lying pretenſe and falſe colour of a tranſcendent and Magicke vertue. In examples of this kinde, *Reignald Scott* doeth ouer-abound in his diſcouery. I haue my ſelfe noted and knowne ſome men (I could ſay ſome men of the Clergie) who to draw wonder and cuſtome vnto their practiſe in Phyſicke (wherein Sacriligiouſly they ſpend their beſt and chiefe time and howers, with open neglect of God and his ſeruice.) I know ſome I ſay, who are not aſhamed prophanely and moſt irreligiouſly, to affect among vulgars, to gaine the opinion of skill in Coniuration, Magicke, and Diuell-charming.

Examples of impoſture vnder colour of Magicke skill or Witchcraft.

By this impoſturous Art or deuice many yeeres together (not among men Religious, Orthodoxe, or iudiciouſly learned) but among vulgars, and ſometimes alſo among ſome great and mighty men) they haue become vnworthily magnified Phyſitions, aboue other farre more worthy, and performing ſometimes, ſome things praiſe worthy (as is oft-times contingent vnto the meaneſt practiſers) they ſtill gaine countenance, and time to robbe God of the firſt fruites of their time, ſtrength, and labours, and the Church of their more requiſite maine ſtudy and imployment. It is not vnknowne how common it is among theſe men, to profeſſe the erecting of figures, the giuing of anſweres as Wizards, the reuealing of things hidden, as Magitians, vnto the great diſhonour of God, the ſhame of the Church, the Lawes and Kingdome. How vſuall it is with many other Iuglers and Mountibankes, by the reputation of Witches impoſturouſly to promiſe, and vn-

dertake miraculous curations, and Prognoſtications of diſeaſes and their iſſues, is not vnknowne vnto any common obſeruer: wherein, for breuitie ſake, and to auoide confuſion, and the crambe or iteration of the ſame things, I will referre the Reader to a former manuell, called *The diſcouery of Erroneous practiſes in Phiſicke*, where although, by reaſon of my abſence beyond and beſide the *Errata*, many errours both in ſome words and ſenſe, doe ſtill remaine; yet there are many things in this kinde worthy notice. Read page 71. the Treatiſe of Wizards; likewiſe, in the ſecond marginall note of the page 53. an Hiſtory of a Chirurgeon, famous in curing ſuch as were bewitched: Likewiſe page 109. 110. 111. an Hiſtory of impoſture, vnder the colour and pretenſe of the inſpection and iudging of Vrines: and likewiſe, page 60. and from thence vnto the end of that whole Chapter. There is a very rare, but true, deſcription of a Gentlewoman, about ſixe yeeres paſt, cured of diuers kindes of convulſions, and other Apoplecktike, Epileptike, Cataleptike, and Paralytike fits, and other kindes of accidents of affinitie therewith. After ſhee was almoſt cured of thoſe diſeaſes, but the cure not fully accompliſhed, it was by a reputed Wizard whiſpered, and thereupon beleeued, that the Gentlewoman was meerely bewitched, ſuppoſed Witches were accuſed. The Gentlewoman hath beene free from all thoſe accidents there mentioned, the ſpace of ſixe yeeres now paſt.

In this laſt paſt ſeuenth yeere, ſince the writing of that hiſtory, ſome of the former fits are * critically againe returned: the ſame Wizard or Deceiuer reſorted vnto and enquired at, doeth now againe auouch her to bee bewitched; vpon opinon whereof and truſt in his illuſion, the timely vſe and benefit of due counſell hath beene much omitted and neglected. Her diſeaſes which formerly, farre exceeded theſe which now are, in number, frequence and vehemence, were in ſhorter ſpace cured, and ſo continued the ſpace of ſixe yeeres together. Theſe few which now doe returne, due counſell and time neglected, though being

* Plurimæ autem paſsiones puerulis iudicantur in ſeptem menſibus nonnullæ in 7. anno Hipp. Aphor. 28 lib. 3. Morbi Diutini ad ſeptenarii rationem habent Criſim, non ſeptenarii quoad menſes modo, ſed quoad annos. Galen. in dictum Aphoriſm.

being in number fewer, leſſe intricate, and farre leſſe violent, haue notwithſtanding a farre larger ſpace of time continued.

If that Counſeller or vndertaker to counſell, be a Wizzard in name and reputation only (as I doe geſſe and deeme him) then is this Hiſtory an incomparable example and inſtance of the wickedneſſe, impietie and crueltie of impoſture and Impoſtours. If he be found a Witch, then is it an vnanſwerable euidence and inſtance of the Diuels iuggling, lying, illuſion and deceiuing, whereof we made mention and proofe before in the queſtion or doubt concerning *Pythagoras* realty in two places. For, in true reaſon and iudicious diſcerning, it is as cleere as the brighteſt day, that no accident befalling the Gentlewoman mentioned, can be other then naturall, or farther ſupernaturall, then either the Diuels credit with a Witch, or an Impoſtors credit with deceiued and ſeduced men is able to inchaunt perſwaſion vnto vaine affiance in them. I referre the Reader to the conſideration of the Hiſtory at large, with that which here is added: I will only exhort all men not to be in thoſe doubtfull caſes, too violent, nor raſh in asking or beleeuing vnworthy or worthleſſe counſell, but to aske it of ſuch as are truly and godly learned and prudent, and not of Impoſtours or Seducers, conſidering that the conſequence of raſhneſſe, miſtaking error and ignorance; are no leſſe then the life or death of the ſicke, a putting out of the eyes and light of reaſon, which God and Nature hath giuen man to walke withall in the darke pilgrimage of this life; a depriuation of due remedies which God hath allowed (while beguiled with vaine and fooliſh opinion, with wilfull blindneſſe, they worthily eſteeme not, nor will expect his grace and fauour therein.

Aſſuredly, he that doth giue vp himſelfe to become a prey to folly and illuſion, and led by deceiuers headlong into confuſed, vniuſtifiable, vnwarranted and inhibited explorations and trials, doth forſake the guidance and vſe of right reaſon, and in ſtead thereof, is intemperately diſtra-

cted with impatience of expectation of due respect and esteeme of Gods ordinance and allowance in his ordinary meanes, may iustly feare that God hath decreed and determined, not onely to dispoile him of that common blessing which he hath promised to all that duely seeke, and rightly vse his allowed meanes; but also that he leaueth him vnto the cursed path and way of perpetuall blindnesse and hardnesse of heart therein, except his speciall and extraordinary diuine grace in time reduce his dangerous steps. For certainly he vnto whose blinded eyes God doth offer so great mercy and fauour, as is plainly euident in all his ordained ordinary meanes, vnto euery good that befalleth man in this life, and with thankfulnesse cannot or will not behold it, when it is laid at his vnthaukfull feete, is in a desperate way of a lethargicall disposition, or senseless memory and obliuion, both of his reason, and of himselfe, and of Gods mercifull goodnesse towards him. And thus the vglinesse of imposture both by the description thereof, and also by example doth appeare, wherein may be first seene, how they that trust thereto, doe forsake God, themselues and their owne common sense and reason, and giue themselues to be swallowed vp of lying and illusion. Secondly, in the whole course of imposture it selfe, is seene the continuall practise of mercileſſe impietie, the vsuall wrong of the afflicted, the belying of truth, the deceiuing the miserable, the depriuation of the sicke, of the vse of due remedies and meanes which God hath made and blessed vnto men, that with praise vnto his name, patience and due dependance vpon his prouidence therein, can be contented to seeke and expect the likely and hopefull issue thereof, in vsuall course of nature. Lastly, may be collected, and obserued, the vse and necessitie of distinction betweene Imposture and Witch-craft; namely, that the odious and abominable sinne of Witch-craft be not suffered to continue, vnregarded or neglected, vnder the colour of vaine Imposture, and that the Diuell be not suffered to liue amongst vs, too commonly, and too openly, in the coate

and

and habite of a fooliſh Impoſtor, or Iuggler. For certainely nothing doth more hood-winke the through diſcouery of Sorcerers, then remiſſeneſſe and omiſsion of inquiſition, and caſtigation of Impoſtors, out of whoſe leauen (no doubt) but diligent animaduerſion, might oft-times boult out many a ſubtill and concealed Witch.

CHAP. X.

How men may by reaſon and nature be ſatisfied, concerning ſuch ſicke perſons as are indeede and truly bewitched.

IT followeth now, according to promiſe, briefely to point vnto direction, how men leauing to inquire at Witches and Sorcerers, and Impoſtors, concerning the ſick, ſuppoſed to be bewitched, may inquire and be better ſatisfied by the light of Reaſon; which God hath giuen vnto them. Reaſon doth detect the ſicke to be afflicted by the immediate ſupernaturall power of the Diuell, two wayes: The firſt way is, by ſuch things as are ſubiect and manifeſt vnto the learned Phyſicion onely: the ſecond is, by ſuch things as are ſubiect and manifeſt vnto a vulgar view.

Thoſe things which are manifeſt vnto the Phyſition alone are of two ſorts. The firſt is, when in the likeneſſe and ſimilitude of a diſeaſe, the ſecret working of a ſupernaturall power doth hide it ſelfe, hauing no cauſe or poſsibilitie of being in that kinde or nature. The ſecond is, when naturall remedies or meanes according vnto Art and due diſcretion applyed, doe extraordinarily or miraculouſly either loſe their manifeſt ineuitable nature, vſe, and operation, or elſe produce effects and conſequences, againſt or aboue their nature, the impoſsibilitie of either of theſe in vſuall or ordinarie courſe of nature, doth certainely prooue an infallibilitie of a ſuperiour nature, which aſſuredly therefore muſt needs be either Diuine or Diabolicall.

This concluſion concerning the infallibilitie of a ſupernaturall mouer, from the like aſſumption, the learned and worthy

worthy preſeruer of reuerent antiquitie, Maſter *Camden*, in his deſcription of Cheſhire, hath truely inferred vpon the miraculous preluſions, and preſages, euer and prepetually forerunning the death of the heyres of the houſe or family of the *Briertons*. Theſe and ſuch like things (ſaith he) are done either by the holy tuteler Angels of men, or elſe by Diuels who by Gods permiſsion mightily ſhew their power in this inferiour world.

Whenſoeuer therefore the Phyſition ſhall truly diſcouer a manifeſt tranſcending power, manner, or motion in any ſuppoſed diſeaſe, there is an vndoubted concluſion of the Author. Where likewiſe remedies finde concomitances, or conſequences contrary to their nature, or ſuch as neuer were, nor euer can be contingent in courſe of nature: this aſſumption truly granted, doth inuincibly inferre a tranſcendent force and vertue therein neuer to be denied. The Demonſtration hereof is euident. A proper cauſe is certainely knowne where is detected his proper effect. *Ergo*, where is effected ought ſupernaturall, there is infallibly diſcouered a ſupernaturall cauſe.

Thus how diſeaſes, and the wonderfull accidents which oft happen in diſeaſes, may be by the Phyſicion detected, according vnto the rule of reaſon, whether induced by the Diuell or no, is briefely pointed at.

How the guilt of any man therein with the Diuel (which doth onely conuince a Witch) may and ought appeare, hath beene before declared, and ſhall likewiſe hereafter be further made cleare.

It will not now be immateriall or vnprofitable, for confirmation, illuſtration, and better proofe of thoſe two waies, which are diſtinguiſhed to be onely ſubiect, and manifeſt vnto the Phyſicion, in the detection of the ſecret workes of Diuels and Witches in diſeaſes, to produce one or two examples of both.

Concerning the firſt, *Fernelius* in his 2. booke *De Abd. Rer. cauſis, chap.* 16. deliuereth a hiſtory of a yong man of a noble family, who was by a violent conuulſion in an extra-

ordinary

ordinary manner long time tormented. Diuers learned Phyſicions remained long time doubting and vnſatisfied, both in the cauſe of this diſeaſe, as alſo of the ſeate or place where the cauſe, with any ſufficient reaſon, might be iudged ſetled.

Behold very pregnant inducements of the finger of the Diuell, moouing in the diſeaſe. One was the incredible velocitie of motion in the diſeaſed, impoſsible vnto the force of man: the other was, for that in all the fits and conuulſions, though very ſtrong and vehement, his ſenſe and vnderſtanding remained in the diſeaſed, perfect and nothing obſcured, or interrupted, which in conuulſions according vnto naturall cauſes was neuer ſeene, and is impoſsible.

The force of theſe reaſons to euince the preſidence of the Diuell, in the manner and motion of the fore-named diſeaſe, the Diuell himſelfe did ſhortly after iuſtifie, declaring and profeſsing himſelfe the Author thereof in plainly expreſſed words.

In the fore-named booke and chapter, there is another report or relation of a man ſudainly ſurpriſed, with an extraordinarie faſhion, or ſhape of madneſſe or phrenſie, wherein he vttered and reuealed things hidden, and of profound Science and reuelation, not onely aboue the pitch and power of naturall capacitie, and the ſtimulation thereof in diſeaſes contingent, and the forgerie of fained extaſie, but really in true and vpright iudgement, and vnpartiall diſcerning of a Phyſition beyond all queſtion and exception ſupernatuall. The ſequele after made it good. Theſe examples are ſufficient vnto men that are wiſe, and with whom reaſon hath authoritie. I doe not affect vnaduiſed multiplication herein, ſuſpecting many hiſtories, and reports of diuers Authors.

The poſsibilitie of thoſe which are here produced, beſide the vnſtained credit of the Author, is apertly confirmed by the holy Scripture, where, in the Lunatike the Diuell manifeſted himſelfe by actions, onely proper and ap-

propriate vnto the power of a Spirit: such was his casting the Lunatike into the fire, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things by the Physition iudiciously distinguished, in most part impossible vnto the power and nature of the Lunatike himselfe, or of his disease alone, though not all.

The man possessed among the *Gadarens, Matth.* 8. *Mark.* 5. *Luke* 8. likewise doth establish the same, who was knowne and seene euidently by the Physition, how farre simply or solely diseased, and how farre possessed beyond diseased extasies by those vndoubted workes, and that finger of the Diuell, when he easily brake in peeces those yron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound: so that no force thereof whatsoeuer could hold or binde him; as also when he vttered and spake that more then humane vnderstanding and reuelation of Iesus Christ to be the Sonne of God: a knowledge as yet vncommunicated vnto mankinde, and vnto reason impossible.

Concerning the second way of detection, subiect vnto the Physition alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applyed, are attended with supernaturall consequences, contrary to their nature, or aboue the same, out of the former Author, and fore-named place. there is an example also without farther straggling of vnquestioned estimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirsting, and by intolerable heate compelled to seeke any mitigation, or extinction of his heate and thirst, in want of drinke or other fitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moisture and naturall iuice whereof, hoping the vsuall short refreshing of the tongue, he, after the first tasting thereof, immediately found (not onely that which was contrary to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirst then before) but had instantly his mouth and iawes so fast closed and sealed vp thereby, that he hardly escaped strangling.

The reasonable doubt of the latitation of the Diuell, in this faire, harmelesse, and vsuall remedie of the tongues,

thirst

thirſt and drines, was afterward made more euident and manifeſt by the ſudaine and ſwift obſeſsion of his minde, with frightfull viſions, whereof as in the diſpoſition, temper, ſubſtance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cauſe, ſo in the Apple it ſelfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuell, as with *Iudas* Sop, though wholeſome and ſauing in it ſelfe, ſo in this medicinall fruit, entred and poſſeſſed, where God permitted. The like may be ſaid of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vſe contrary to their nature.

For this cauſe *Hippocrates* himſelfe in his booke *de Sacro morbo, & de Natura muliebri*, doeth acknowledge many accidents, as alſo diſeaſes and remedies themſelues to be diuine, as hauing their cauſe and being aboue the courſe of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cauſe, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reaſon diſcouered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the iudicious Phyſition applyed, notwithſtanding, contrary to the nature and cuſtome of ſuch remedies, they haue vnuſuall and iuſtly wondered effects, is there not iuſt matter of doubt concerning an vnuſuall and extraordinary cauſe anſwereable thereto? The deepe and myſticall contengents in this kinde, and their hidden reaſon and cauſe, the vnlearned man, or he that is not exerciſed in difficult diſcoueries, cannot diſcerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguites, poſsibly become intelligible in euery ordinary apprehenſion; yet by the former eaſie and familiar example, euery man may geſſe and coniecture at the moſt abſtruſe. The ſubtiltie of the Diuell doeth eaſily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and miſts of doubts and difficulties beguileth vſually the dimme ſight and diſquiſition.

The learned Phyſition, notwithſtanding poſſeſsing true iudgement and learning; who doeth and can warily obſerue, and diſtinguiſh firſt the wonders of nature vnknowne vnto euery mediocrity of knowing: ſecondly, the true wonders aboue nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth

propriate vnto the power of a Spirit: ſuch was his caſting the Lunatike into the fire, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things by the Phyſition iudiciouſly diſtinguiſhed, in moſt part impoſsible vnto the power and nature of the Lunatike himſelfe, or of his diſeaſe alone, though not all.

The man poſſeſſed among the *Gadarens*, *Matth.* 8. *Mark.* 5. *Luke* 8. likewiſe doth eſtabliſh the ſame, who was knowne and ſeene euidently by the Phyſition, how farre ſimply or ſolely diſeaſed, and how farre poſſeſſed beyond diſeaſed extaſies by thoſe vndoubted workes, and that finger of the Diuell, when he eaſily brake in peeces thoſe yron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound: ſo that no force thereof whatſoeuer could hold or binde him; as alſo when he vttered and ſpake that more then humane vnderſtanding and reuelation of Ieſus Chriſt to be the Sonne of God: a knowledge as yet vncommunicated vnto mankinde, and vnto reaſon impoſſible.

Concerning the ſecond way of detection, ſubiect vnto the Phyſition alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applyed, are attended with ſupernaturall conſequences, contrary to their nature, or aboue the ſame, out of the former Author, and fore-named place. there is an example alſo without farther ſtraggling of vnqueſtioned eſtimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirſting, and by intolerable heate compelled to ſeeke any mitigation, or extinction of his heate and thirſt, in want of drinke or other fitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moiſture and naturall iuice whereof, hoping the vſuall ſhort refreſhing of the tongue, he, after the firſt taſting thereof, immediately found (not onely that which was contrary to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirſt then before) but had inſtantly his mouth and iawes ſo faſt cloſed and ſealed vp thereby, that he hardly eſcaped ſtrangling.

The reaſonable doubt of the latitation of the Diuell, in this faire, harmeleſſe, and vſuall remedie of the tongues,

thirſt

thirst and drines, was afterward made more euident and manifest by the sudaine and swift obsession of his minde, with frightfull visions, whereof as in the disposition, temper, substance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cause, so in the Apple it selfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuell, as with *Iudas* Sop, though wholesome and sauing in it selfe, so in this medicinall fruit, entred and possessed, where God permitted. The like may be said of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vse contrary to their nature.

For this cause *Hippocrates* himselfe in his booke *de Sacro morbo, & de Natura muliebri*, doeth acknowledge many accidents, as also diseases and remedies themselues to be diuine, as hauing their cause and being aboue the course of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cause, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reason discouered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the iudicious Physition applyed, notwithstanding, contrary to the nature and custome of such remedies, they haue vnusuall and iustly wondered effects, is there not iust matter of doubt concerning an vnusuall and extraordinary cause answereable thereto? The deepe and mysticall contengents in this kinde, and their hidden reason and cause, the vnlearned man, or he that is not exercised in difficult discoueries, cannot discerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguites, possibly become intelligible in euery ordinary apprehension; yet by the former easie and familiar example, euery man may gesse and coniecture at the most abstruse. The subtiltie of the Diuell doeth easily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and mists of doubts and difficulties beguileth vsually the dimme sight and disquisition.

The learned Physition, notwithstanding possessing true iudgement and learning; who doeth and can warily obserue, and distinguish first the wonders of nature vnknowne vnto euery mediocrity of knowing: secondly, the true wonders aboue nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth

not easily or rashly with vulgars, erre or runne mad in the confusion of vaine and idle scruples. The wonders of nature, are such naturall diseases as are seene in their wondred and admired shapes or mixture, to haue a great likenesse or deceiuing identitie with such maladies, as are inflicted by the Diuell. The wonders aboue nature, are such diseases, as are truely and vndoubtedly knowne and prooued to haue no consistence, or power of consistence, or cause in sublunary nature.

For illustation hereof, I will giue one materiall instance fitting our present time, that shall apertly without exception manifest the distinction of both these kinds, therewith declaring the great oddes and difference betweene true knowledge and vnderstanding in the learned Physition, and the amazed wonderments of vulgars and ignorant men.

There are vulgarly reported among our English vulgers to bee in the bodies of many Witches, certaine markes or excrescencies which are vsually deemed the randevowe of the Diuell, where by couenant hee doeth sucke the blood of Witches. These excrescencies are vsually described to beare sometimes the shape of Wartes and Teates, or some other such like tumours. They are most commonly found in the priuie parts. They are found sudainely after their appearance, sometimes to vanish. They doe oft bleed, and therefore are vulgarly deemed, the remaining dropping of the Diuels sucking.

There are diseases likewise, like vnto these by Physitions many hundreth of yeeres published, & both by ancient Physitions and Chirurgions, as also by those of later times oft cured. That this be not esteemed as a wonder, or a fable, I will produce some of their seuerall shapes; described by seuerall Authors, and will cite them according to their vsuall names which are these, *Thymion, Nymphe, Cleitoris, Cercosis, Morum, Alhasce, Ficus, Mariscæ.*

Of the first thus saith *Paulus Ægineta* in his sixt booke, and 71. chapter. It is an excrescence or eminence, standing out from the rest of the flesh, sometimes red, sometimes white,

white, for the moſt part without paine, the bigneſſe of an Ægyptian beane and of the colours of the flowers of *Thyme*. They are found, ſaith he, in the priuie part of women, and are cured by cutting them away. *Ioannes Hucherus* of the Citie of *Beuois* in *France*, ſometimes one of the Kings counſell and Phyſition vnto his perſon, in his ſecond booke concerning barrenneſſe doth teſtifie, that the former excreſcence doth ſometimes grow in ſome length, ſometimes in the hands, ſometimes in the feete, ſometimes in the thighes, ſometimes in the thighes, ſometimes in the face, but ſaith that they are moſt troubleſome in the priuie parts both of man and woman.

Celſus ſaith in his firſt booke *chap.* 28. that theſe excreſcencies doe ſometimes open and bleed,& ſend out blood. *Thymion (inquit) facile finditur & cruentatur, nonnunquam aliquantum ſanguinis fundit. Antonius Muſa* vpon the 26. *Aph.* of *Hippocrates* the third booke teſtifieth by his obſeruation in diuers particulars, that the former diſeaſe or excreſcence doth oft-times weare and vaniſh away without helpe or remedie.

The ſecond diſeaſe or excreſcence called *Nymphe*, *Paulus Ægineta*, in his 6. booke 8. *chap.* doeth deſcribe to be a ſwelling or growing out of a peece of fleſh in the ſecret part of a woman riſing oft-times vnto an vndecent faſhion and a great bigneſſe. *Auicenne* deliuereth the ſame deſcription. *Tom.* 1. *Fen.* 21. *Tract.* 4. and *Albucaſis Chirurg. Part.* 2. *Chap.* 72, 73, 74.

The third excreſcence called *Cleitoris* is little different from the former by the deſcription of the ſame Authors. *Auicen lib.* 3. *Fen.* 28. *Paulus Ægineta* in the fore-mentioned place.

The fourth excreſcence called *Cerroſis* the ſame Author in the ſame place compareth vnto a long taile and ſaith, that it hangeth downe, and iſſueth out of the part before mentioned in women, and is cured by being cut away.

The fift excreſcence called *Morum* hath that name from his likeneſſe vnto a Mulberrie.

The ſixt, called *Alhaſce*, from his likeneſſe vnto a Bramble leafe. *Auicenne Tom. 1. lib. 3. Fen. 21. Tract. 4. cap. 20.* As for the ſeuenth and eight Excreſcences, growing likewiſe as the reſt about the ſecret parts, they haue beene ſo commonly in auncient times knowne, that *Martiall* the Poet out of his owne acquaintance with them, hath made ſport thereof in wittie verſe.

Dicemus ficus quas ſcimus in arbore naſci,
Dicemus ficus Cæciliane tuos.

Of the *Mariſcæ*, thus alſo writeth *Iuvenal.*

Cæduntur tumidæ medico ridente, Mariſcæ.

Of theſe *Mariſcæ* thus ſaith *Antonius Muſa* vpon the *Aph. 30. lib. 3.* Wee call them, ſaith hee, creſts or combes, from their likeneſſe vnto the combe of a Cocke, which ſaith he, if they bee not in time cut away, and cured by actuall cauteries, they are neuer cured at all. Thus much concerning theſe diſeaſes, out of learned Authors. Let vs now conſider theſe naturall diſeaſes, which are called wonders in nature, (becauſe not ordinarily or vulgarly ſeene) with thoſe markes of Witches or diſeaſes, and excreſcencies effected and cauſed by the Diuell in Witches, which (therefore muſt needes be wonders aboue nature.) Let vs (I ſay) compare them together, the one with the other. Their exceeding neere neighbour-hood and likeneſſe, no common vnderſtanding, as they are deſcribed truely and liuely, can chuſe but acknowledge. To confound or miſtake the one for the other, is very eaſie, but yet dangerous and pernicious. I will not denie againſt due teſtimonies, and the free confeſſions of the Witches themſelues, that ſuch markes may bee by the Diuell vpon couenant made, in way of an helliſh ſacrament, betweene the Diuell and the Witch: but where the confeſsion of the Witch her ſelfe, being free from iuſt exception doeth not appeare, nor the Diuell to any ſpectatours, doeth ſhew himſelfe in the act

of

of ſucking, which hee neuer doeth (as my incredulous thoughts perſwade my ſelfe) where I ſay, theſe appeare not to be manifeſt without fraude, there it is requiſite, and neceſſary, that either wee diſcharge the Diuell, and acquit him of the ſlander, or elſe diſcouer it by ſome other ſigne or note, which may iuſtly be appropriated vnto the Diuell, that his finger or guilt hath beene therein.

This is reaſon, without which ought bee no perſwaſion. Euery tree is to be knowen by his owne fruit, ſaith our Sauiour. Therefore the diuell, is to be knowne by the workes, and fruites of a Diuell, proper and belonging vnto him. Trie and diſcerne the Spirits, (ſaith the Scripture) whether they be of God, or no. And how can they bee diſcerned, if there were not ſome notes, or properties knowne vnto holy diſcerning mindes, whereby they may be diſcerned. It is madneſſe therefore, to ſuppoſe it poſſible to know that which is done by a Spirit, wherein is no euidence, impreſſion, ſigne, ſhew, or propertie of a Spirit. For as a naturall cauſe cannot bee knowne, but by his naturall effect; ſo is it impoſſible, that a ſpirituall cauſe ſhould be knowne, but by ſome ſupernaturall effect. For this cauſe, in all places of Scripture, where are ſet forth the outward workes, or actions of the Diuell, they doe there likewiſe all appeare to be his, in ſome extraordinary & ſupernaturall note or maner.

The caſting the bodies of the poſſeſſed in the Goſpel, into the middeſt of the people, was a thing extraordinary, impoſſible, and vnuſuall vnto the voluntary motion of men alone. The bringing of fire from Heauen to deuoure ſo many of *Iobs* ſheepe, was in the manner beyond the nature vſuall, and ordinary force, or cuſtome of fire. The carriage of the heards of Swine headlong into the Sea, was manifeſtly beyond the nature of their naturall motion, yea, againſt their nature.

Here may be obiected, that the Diuell doeth ordinarily worke, and produce things of ſeeming wonder, and ſtrange conſequence, wherein notwithſtanding, doeth not appeare any ſigne or impreſsion, of any ſupernaturall cauſe or authour,

thour, as is ſeene in many things produced in men, and iſſuing from his vſuall tentations of men.

The anſwere is, that the Diuell doeth worke vpon man, two wayes.

The firſt is, immediately by the temptings, and ſoliciting only of man vnto workes, which properly are affected by man himſelfe, in the vſuall courſe and power of mans nature.

The ſecond is, immediately by his owne proper action, as hee is a Spirit, and immediately worketh in himſelfe, the worke of a Spirit.

In the firſt, the Diuell is not properly ſaid to worke in himſelfe, but rather to giue and offer occaſion vnto the diſpoſition and affections of man, thereby exciting, and tempting man vnto that worke, which therefore onely carrieth the ſtampe of a worke, proper vnto a man.

In the ſecond, the Diuell worketh immediately himſelfe, as he is a Spirit, and in that worke therefore muſt neceſſarily likewiſe bee ſeene, and appeare the ſtampe of a Spirit, ſince in the courſe and order of all things created whatſoeuer, the true and immediate cauſe, his immediate true and proper effect, is the ſole true infallible ſtampe, euidence, and proofe thereof.

The workes therefore, which are called or eſteemed the Diuels, in regard of his tentations, and incitations of man, vnto fooliſh, wicked, and oft wondered miſchieuous actions, are onely and truely called diueliſh, as proceeding from the Diuels inſtigation onely, but are not truely or properly, or immediately any workes of the Diuell, and therefore it is not requiſite, that in ſuch workes of the Diuell, vnproperly called his, there ſhould appeare any ſignes, proper vnto the workes of a Spirit or Diuell.

Since then it is infallible, that there can bee no poſsible diſcouery of any cauſe whatſoeuer, naturall, or ſupernaturall, but by ſuch accidents, effects, or properties as properly belong, or iſſue from that cauſe, and ſince proper effects appearing, doe onely diſcouer their cauſes more cleerely,

cleerely, where they appeare more cleere, and more obſcurely, where they doe appeare more obſcure, and nothing at all, where they appeare not all: Since I ſay this is true, and neuer to be infringed, thoſe ſuppoſed Witches markes, before they can iuſtly and truely bee iudged to bee by the Diuell effected or vſed, muſt by ſome ſtampe or ſigne proper to himſelfe, or to his workes, or to his vſe or propertie therein, be ſo determined and conuinced to be.

The wonder indeed of their ſtrange ſhapes, forme and manner, is ſufficient to amaze ſuch as are not iudiciouſly read, or are vnlearned: but the Phiſition who knoweth ſuch diſeaſes to bee in nature, by that knowledge of their nature, knowing likewiſe that they doe not exceede nature, doeth iuſtly ſtand apart, and diuide himſelfe from the vulgar errour and opinion, that they are any markes to be appropriate vnto the Diuell.

And hence appeareth the neceſſitie of conuincing the forementioned Witches markes to bee ſupernaturall, before vpon their ſhape or appearance onely, it can bee eſteemed iuſt, either to impute vnto the Diuell, or to call any man into queſtion. Before they can bee truely iudged or determined, whether ſupernaturall or no, the neceſſitie of conſulting with the learned Phiſition, is likewiſe demonſtrated. Of which wee may yet againe, giue another demonſtration within the ſame inſtance. It hath beene ſometimes by oath confirmed and depoſed, that theſe forementioned markes of Witches, haue (immediately after they haue beene ſeene) ſudainely vaniſhed to bee no more ſeene. The queſtion may bee, whether their ſudaine diſparence after their manifeſt appearance, bee in nature poſſible vnto ſuch like diſeaſes or no. It is knowne vnto the Phiſition, that many diſeaſes doe inſenſibly grow, and inſenſibly alſo weare and vaniſh away, without any knowledge or notice thereof taken by the diſeaſed. This therefore ſolely can bee no note of a ſupernaturall marke, whatſoeuer paſſionate ignorants fondly diſpute, to maintaine their owne wils and preiudicate reſolutions. I doe grant, if

thoſe materiall excreſcencies, doe in a moment vaniſh away, without any precedent preparation, or alteration tending thereto, or doe in an inſtant appeare, and in the ſame moment, without any mutation or proportion of time inſtantly vaniſh, then muſt this bee granted ſupernaturall: *Quia nihil fit in momento*, that is, no naturall being hath deſinence or being, without proportioned time, beyond which nothing can bee really or indeed in ſublunarie nature, whether there bee in the vaniſhing of the former markes, proportion of time or no, and the due antecedent mutations, and alterations in nature requiſite, who can truely iudge, but hee who doeth both know the generall courſe of nature in all things, and alſo the particular courſe, in the nature of diſeaſes, which is the learned Phiſition alone. It may bee obiected, that many common men in the former markes, may as eaſily ſee and diſcerne that which is ſupernaturall oft-times, as the greateſt Clarkes.

For example, it hath beene publiſhed by Authors of great note, that Oracles haue beene vttered, and articulate ſounds heard diſtinctly iſſuing from the priuie parts of a *Pythoniſſe*. Any man that doeth know, or heare ſuch ſounds out of that place, can as directly and as truely as the Phiſition auouch this to be ſupernaturall.

It was ſometime openly obiected, againſt a Witch in *Northampton-ſhire* at the publike Aſſiſe, that a Rat was oft obſerued to reſort vnto her priuie part, and with her liking and ſufferance there to ſucke. This was by oath and teſtimony vrged againſt her, and ſhe her ſelfe confeſſed it to bee true. If the oath and teſtimony of ſufficient witneſſes, confirme the Hiſtorie to bee true, there is no man vnto whom this is not apparent, as well as vnto the Phiſition to bee more then naturall. Hereto wee doe anſwere, that although it cannot bee denied, that many things may euidently declare themſelues vnto euery vulgar, as vnto the learned Phiſition to bee ſupernaturall; yet doeth not this trueth in ſome caſes, euince it true in all caſes. Becauſe ſome things are not denied vnto a vulgar eye or iudgment,

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it doeth not thence follow neceſſarily, that all things are thereto euident.

It is further obiected, that in thoſe caſes, Phiſitions are oft found deceiued, as well as other men. It is anſwered, that among Phiſitions, as among all ſorts of other men, there are many vulgars, who are, and may bee ordinarily, and eaſily deceiued, yea amongſt the iudicious and learned alſo, who cannot ſo ordinarily or eaſily bee deceiued, yet there muſt be ſome wants and imperfections, ſince no man in this mortall life can bee in all particuler points perfect. Notwithſtanding, this doeth not excuſe thoſe who are vnlearned, and haue many more groſſe wants and imperfections, for not conſulting with thoſe that haue leſſe, ſince vnperfect perfection of knowledge, is farre better guide then imperfection, groſſe ignorance, and priuation of Art and knowledge.

It may bee yet demanded, what if the Phiſition or learned man, cannot detect the Diuell in theſe named markes, ſince the diuel is able to haue a finger haply in them, where no note or ſigne thereof ſhall at all appeare?

Anſwere hereto is, where God doeth giue vnto men no meanes, no way or poſſibilitie vnto their deſired ſatisfaction, there they ought to reſt contented, ſince the contrary is precipitation, and impatience with God his good will and pleaſure, and vnbridled curioſitie. For as in other caſes, namely, Fellony, Murder, all Lawe both Diuine and Humane, doeth forbid to accuſe the Murderer, or Felon, where God hath not diſcouered his guilt by any ſigne, euidence, or proofe thereof; ſo in caſe of Witch-craft, where God hath not reuealed it by any reaſonable proſe, vnto the learned & iudicious, there hath no man warrant to accuſe, or challeng vpon ſuperſtitious grounds, or ſurmiſes onely. And though this moderation be iuſt and fit to be held, where God hath inhibited the contrary; yet it is no Apologie or excuſe for negligence, contempt, and want of diligent inquiſition at any other time, whenſoeuer God doeth permit or offer meanes, hope or poſſibilitie thereto.

There may here a queſtion be pertinently mooued, namely, Whether theſe markes before mentioned, where proued ſupernaturall, doe therefore neceſſarily conuince the party vpon whom they are found, a Witch, yea or no.

Anſwere hereto is, that ſimply and alone, ſuch markes doe not prooue a Witch at all, but with ſome limitations and conſiderations, they doe abſolutely and infallibly demonſtrate a Witch.

Thoſe limitations are theſe; Firſt, that thoſe markes certainely detected to be ſupernaturall, bee by circumſtances, preſumptions or neceſſary inference, of reaſon prooued to be knowne, by the party in whom they are found, that they are of the Diuell, or by the Diuell there placed.

Secondly, that they are there continued, mainteined, or preſerued with the liking and allowance of that partie. The reaſon of theſe limitations is manifeſt, for that the Diuell is able to impoſe diuers diſeaſes, as alſo ſuch like ſupernaturall markes or excreſcencies, as are before mentioned, vpon men without their liking or conſent, where God doth ſo permit him. This is euident by the Hiſtorie of *Iob*, vpon whom the Diuell brought extraordinary, and more then vſuall botches, biles, and ſores, beyond the common courſe and nature of thoſe diſeaſes, and this he did full ſore againſt the will, and liking of righteous *Iob*. No man can iuſtly be accuſed or ſuſpected in that act wherein hee is no agent, but an vnwilling Patient, nor can bee acceſſary vnto concurrence, or conſent with any author in his act, if that author bee not knowne vnto him, or not conceiued by him to be author. Indeed, if any man be found with ſuch markes, who may be conuinced to know them to bee of the Deuill, and then to like or to be contented with them, aſſuredly by manifeſt demonſtration, that man is a Witch, if not by an expreſſe and open, yet by an occult allowance of the Diuels poſſeſſion and power, of that part or portion in him. Whoſoeuer giueth any poſſeſſion of himſelfe vnto the Diuell, either in part or in whole, doeth thereby renounce his Creator, & by this combination with the Diuell, is a Witch, or Sorcerer.

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There remaineth as yet a doubt or queſtion, Whether ſi nply the affirmation of a ſuppoſed Witch (which is vulgarly but not properly called and deemed her confeſsion) that the Diuell doth ſucke him or her, as alſo whether the affirmation of a ſuppoſed Witch, affirming her ſelfe to be a Witch, doe infallibly conuince that ſuppoſed Witch, to be a Witch indeede; and whether that affirmation be ſufficient (as commonly deemed her owne confeſsion) to condemne her.

The anſwer is negatiue. The reaſon is, for that many affirmations in themſelues, and at firſt view doe ſeeme true ſerious and ſufficient; which better and more conſiderately examined, are oft-times euen ſenſeleſſe and ridiculous; and therefore iuſtly are denied credit.

And for this cauſe no accuſations, whether againſt any man himſelfe, or againſt another, wherein is no probabilitie or likelihood, no colour or poſsibilitie of being; either are or ought to be admitted or heard in iuſtice in any Courts of Iuſtice. And for this cauſe the teſtimonies, accuſations, or confeſsions which by fooles, or madmen are auouched, are by all nations through the world in law not valued, and reiected. The ſame regard is had of the affirmations and teſtimonies of children and of melancholy people, and likewiſe of men with yeeres and age doting, or by diſeaſes or cares manifeſtly decrepite in their wittes and ſenſes. That ſuch decrepits there are vſually walking among men not noted nor knowne vnto moſt, or many, except ſometimes vpon eſpeciall occaſion or triall of them made, is no wonder.

I did my ſelfe know ſome lately liuing, who formerly haue beene very vnderſtanding, yet diuers yeeres before their end, were with age in their inward ſenſes ſo worne and waſted; that although as reaſonable creatures vnto the common view, they talked, conuerſed, conferred, ſpake many times, and in many things with very good reaſon, and ſenſibly; yet oft-times by ſodaine enterchanges, they

neither knew reaſon nor themſelues, nor their owne names nor children.

I now know a man neere an hundreth yeere old, who hauing in my late remembrance beene an excellent penman, doth neither now know a word, nor can write nor name ſo much as one letter among the foure and twentie; yet hath he his ſight good, as by his diſcerning and vpon his view thereof, giuing right name and title vnto other as ſmall formes and characters is apparent. His memory ſometimes euen of the ſame things is altogether gone by fits; and by fits ſometimes returneth in many things, but not in all, nor in any alway or certainly. Other ſome I haue knowne in their memory and phanſie by age ſo worne, that they could not hold or retaine in the one ſo much as that which very lately was in their eye; in the other ſo much as that which was in the ſame inſtant almoſt conceiued; affirming things in this confuſion which neuer were nor euer could be; and denying their ſight of thoſe things which from their ſight thereof they had truely before named of their owne accord; one while conſtantly beleeuing and avouching whatſoeuer was ſaid or informed them, though neuer ſo diſſonant from ſenſe or reaſon; another while as confidently denying whatſoeuer truth was ſaid or vrged, though neuer ſo manifeſt vnto their ſight or ſenſe. This is not ſtrange in age, ſince in diſeaſes it is vſuall for men ſometimes for a time to loſe their memory alone, ſometimes their reaſon alone, ſometines imagination: ſometimes part of one; and part of another; ſometimes all; ſometimes perfectly none; and yet imperfect in euery one. It ſometimes alſo is ſeene (as *Galen* ſaith) that a man inioying abſolutely and accurately all his inward ſenſes of right reaſon, memory and imagination in all other things beſide; yet in ſome one particular alone and in no other whatſoeuer is euer conſtantly and without change void of ſenſe or reaſon, and as a very mad man or foole.

Thus much is alſo writren by others of many wiſe and learned

learned men; who notwithſtanding in ſome one particular alone haue diſcouered them ſelues to be very fooles or mad men: conſtantly affirming themſelues to be doggs, horſes, glaſſes, and for that one follie neuer reclaimed, in all other things being iudicious, learned, diſcreete and ſolid. Neither is every vulgar man, nor euery man vulgarly learned not accurately iudging able to diſcerne theſe defects, at firſt, or alwaies; much leſſe where they are hardly and difficultly eſpied, or by fits onely doe ſhew themſelues. How poſſible is it for theſe ſorts of people either to be perſwaded by others, or from their owne guide and vnſtable conceite to affirme any thing whatſoeuer concerning themſelues or others? and for that cauſe how neceſſary is it in matter of weight and iudgments, eſpecially of life, to take heede of their raſh admittance vnto accuſations or teſtimonies concerning themſelues or any others. Vnto a confeſsion ſo properly and truely called, doe neceſſarily concurre three things. Firſt, in a confeſſion is properly implied & vnderſtood the partie confeſſing to be capable of reaſon, becauſe without reaſon he can neither know nor iudge of himſelfe nor of his guilt. Secondly, in a confeſſion is requiſite and neceſſary that a partie confeſſing himſelf doth truly know what the Law doth take & define that offence to be which he doth aſſume vnto himſelfe. For by ignorance of the law ſometimes ſilly men ſuppoſe themſelues and others to haue incurred the danger of the Law, where he that truly vnderſtandeth the Law is able to informe him the contrary: and for this cauſe the law it ſelfe doth giue leaue to conſult with the Lawyer, and with ſuch as profeſſe and are skilfull in the Law.

Diuines likewiſe generally acknowledge and grant, that there is a miſtaking, an ignorantly and a falſely accuſing conſcience or guilt, as well as a conſcience iuſtly iudging and accuſing.

And for this cauſe many a man may take himſelfe to be a Theeſe, a Witch or other offender, who doth not truly or rightly konw what Theft in his owne caſe or ſome other

points

points is, or what Witch-craft or ſome other offences either truly in themſelues are, or by the Law are vnderſtood; b ing in ſome caſes not knowen or agreed, among Lawyers themſelues. It is therefore ſenſeleſſe that a man can accuſe himſelfe iuſtly of an offence which he doth not know; and therefore alſo is it as vniuſt to admit ſuch an accuſation againſt himſelfe.

Thirdly, in a confeſſion is implyed and preſuppoſed a precedent manifeſt offence or guilt either by faire euidence likely to be prooued, or at leaſt by due circumſtances and preſumptions iuſtly ſuſpected or queſtioned.

I doe hence conclude demonſtratiuely, that if a ſuppoſed Witch be not firſt found capable of reaſon, and free from dotage with age or yeeres or ſickneſſe; and doe not alſo know what Witch-craft or a Witch is, and thirdly if the Witch-craft or ſinne it ſelfe bee not vpon ſufficient grounds either prooued, or at leſt queſtioned; the meere accuſation of ſuch a ſuppoſed Witch againſt her ſelfe without the former conſiderations, is not ſimply or alone ſufficient to conuince or condemne her; neither is ſuch an accuſation, truly or properly to be tearmed a confeſsion. And thus we haue made euident by this inſtance of the ſuppoſed Witches markes, how the learned Phyſition poſſeſsing true Art and learning, is not ſo commonly as the vulgar ſort tranſported into the maze of vaine wonder and ignorant admiration, but duely and truly weighing reaſon doth apart diſtinguiſh and put true difference betweene the wonders in nature, and the wonders aboue nature.

The wonders in nature are ſuch diſeaſes, as in their ſtrange ſhape and likeneſſe, doe counterfeit ſuch maladies, as are induced by the Diuell or by Witch-craft. Wonders aboue nature, are ſuch diſeaſes, wherein the finger of the Diuell is indeede and really diſcouered.

* Page. 58 59 60

Concerning the firſt kinde (as here) ſo formerly in a former Manuell, I haue briefely deliuered, both ſome of their generall * deſcriptions, denyed by no man that in ancient time was, or at this time is a iudicious and learned Phy-

Phyſician, as alſo diuers of their * particular Hiſtories in the perſons of ſome ſicke men knowne vnto my ſelfe. * Page 61 62 63 64

Of the ſecond it is here needleſſe to propound any more particulars then thoſe aboue mentioned, which I eſteeme for the generall illuſtration ſufficient. In true and right deciſion and diſtinction of the one from the other, multiplicitie of conſideration and circumſpection ought diligently attend the intricate maze and labyrinth of error, and illuſion in their deceiueable likeneſſes, whereby the Diuell, for his owne aduantage, and the perdition of ſeduced and beguiled men, doth ſometimes cunningly hide his owne workes, and the diuelliſh practiſes of Witches and Sorcerers, from their due detection and puniſhment; ſometimes to inſnare the guiltleſſe and innocent, doth iuggling-ly ſeeme to doe thoſe things which Nature doth iuſtly challenge, not as his, but as her owne, in iuſt ballance weighed. It is moſt certaine, that the Diuell cannot poſſibly mixe himſelfe, or his power, with any inferiour nature, ſubſtance or body, but the alteration, by the coniunction of ſo farre diſcrepant natures, in the vnchangeable decree of the vniuerſall nature of all things, neceſſarily and vnauoidably produced, muſt needs witneſſe and manifeſtly detect it in the great and mighty oddes. This is very euident and apparent in all the ſupernaturall workes of the Diuell, before mentioned in the generall diſcourſe of this ſmall Treatiſe or worke, whether ſuch as were declared manifeſt to ſenſe, or ſuch as were euident to reaſon; whether ſuch as were effected by the Diuell himſelfe, with the conſent or contract of a Sorcerer or Witch, or ſuch as were without their knowledge, ſocietie, or contract performed by himſelfe. All thoſe ſupernaturall workes of both theſe kinds were therefore knowne to be ſupernaturall, becauſe they were aboue and beyond any cauſe in ſublunary nature. The like the learned Phyſician may certainly conclude, concerning diſeaſes inflicted or mooued by the Diuell. For it is impoſsible that the finger or power of the Diuell ſhould be in any maladie, but ſuch a cauſe muſt

needs produce some effect like it selfe, where true and iudicious discerning is able to finde the infallible, certaine, and vndeceiued stampe of difference. Thus farre hath bin briefely declared, how the Physician properly and by himselfe doth alone enter into the due consideration and examination of diseases (where is iust occasion of question) whether naturally or supernaturally inferred. How vnfit it is here ro admit euery idiot for a Physician or Counsellor (as is too common both in these and all other affaires of health) let wise men iudge.

Certainely from hence it commeth to passe, that most men for euer liue in perpetuall confusion of their thoughts in these cases, and as a iust iudgement of God against their careleſſe search and neglect of learned and warranted true counsel, all certainety and truth herein doth still fly farre from them. For as in these ambiguities is requisite and necessary, a learned, iudicious, and prudent Physician; so is it as necessary that he finde those that neede herein aduice, truely and constantly obedient vnto good reason, temperate and discreete, not mutable vpon euery vaine and idle proiect to start away, and to bee transported from a reasonable, iust & discreete proceeding, vnto vncertaine, vaine, and Empiricall tryals, since wisdome, knowledge and truth are neuer truely found, but onely of those, that with diligence, patience, and perseuerance search and seeke them out. It remaineth now to come vnto the second way of detection of the bewitched sicke, which was before said to consist in such things as were subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar viewe, as the first vnto the learned Physician alone. As of the first, some few examples haue been propounded, so of the latter let vs also viewe other some.

In the time of their puroxismes or fits, some diseased persons haue beene seene to vomit crooked iron, coales, brimstone, nailes, needles, pinnes, lumps of lead, waxe, hayre, strawe, and the like, in such quantity, figure, fashion and proportion, as could neuer possibly passe downe, or arise vp thorow the naturall narrowneſſe of the throat, or be

contained

contained in the vnproportionable ſmall capacity, naturall ſuſceptibility and poſition of the ſtomake. Theſe things at any time happening, are palpable and not obſcure to any eye without difficulty, offering themſelues to plaine and open viewe.

Theſe like accidents *Benivenius*, *Wierus*, *Codronchius* and others alſo, euen in in our time and countrey, haue publiſhed to haue been ſeene by themſelues. Some other ſicke perſons haue, in the time of the exacerbations of their fits, ſpoken languages knowingly and vnderſtandingly, which in former time they did neuer knowe, nor could afterward know againe: as *Fernelius* a learned Phyſition, and beyond exception worthy credit, doth witneſſe concerning a Sicke man knowne to himſelfe.

Some Sicke men alſo haue reuealed and declared words, geſtures, actions done in farre diſtant places, euen in the very time and moment of their acting, doing, and vttering, as I haue knowne my ſelfe in ſome, and as is teſtified likewiſe to haue beene heard, knowne, and ſeene by diuers witneſſes worthy credit in our * country, in diuers bewitched Sicke people.

* See a Treatiſe of the Witches of Warbozyes.

As theſe examples are manifeſt to any beholder, which ſhall at any time happen to view them: ſo are the examples of the firſt and ſecond kinde euident to the reaſon and iudgement of the learned and iudicious Phyſicion, and all doe therefore certainely detect and prooue a ſupernaturall Author, cauſe, or vertue, becauſe they are manifeſt ſupernaturall effects.

Thus haue we pointed out briefely, the detection of the bewitched Sicke, both by learned Reaſon proper vnto the iudicious Phyſicion, and alſo by common ſenſe and reaſon in all men.

If men more at large pleaſe to exerciſe themſelues in due conſideration and proofe hereof, they ſhall finde more certaine and ſound ſatisfaction and fruit, with the bleſsing and allowance of God, then can iſſue out of the mouthes of Sorcerers and Witches, which God hath curſed, and diſ-

allowed, and in whose hearts and mouthes, the Diuell is oft a lying Spirit.

It hath been briefely, and yet sufficiently herein proued, that Almightie God hath giuen vnto Reason light, whereby reasonable, temperate and sober minds, through circumspect care and diligence, may see and behold whatsoeuer is truely possible, or iust for man to know, with the fauour and allowance of Gods grace, in the detection and discouery of the bewitched Sicke. Whosoeuer therefore shall contemne, or neglect this light, and shall aske counsell of Diuels and Witches, the open and proclaimed enemies of God, doe certainely relinquish their faith, and trust in God their Creator, and their patience and dependance vpon his prouidence.

And although it may sometimes fall out, that prosperous issue doth seeme to follow the counsell of the Diuell, yet doth it behooue men to be wary, and not presume, lest it prooue onely a sweete baite, that by a sensible good, the diuell may draw their bewitched desirous vaine minds vnto an insensible damnable hurt. For certainly, he who will rather be beholding vnto the Diuell, for his life or health, then chuse to die in the gracious and mercifull hand of God his Creator, can neuer expect to participate any portion of saluation in him, without extraordinary repentance.

Thus much concerning the reasonable discouery of the bewitched Sicke, wherein leauing to enquire at Witches, Sorcercers, or impostors, vpright men, that loue or feare God, or imbrace Religion or common reason, may and ought confine and satisfie their iust desires.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The production of the works of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto the publique ſeate and cenſure of Iuſtice.

WE haue hitherto conſidered, how the workes of Diuels and Witches, may be both manifeſt to Senſe, and euident to Reaſon. They haue in their diuers kinds and different performances and manners diſtinctly beene inſtanced. Beſides thoſe kinds which haue beene mentioned, there may bee innumerable more, among which are thoſe who vndertake and are enquired at, to reueale treaſures hid, goods loſt or conueighed away, the workes and guilt of other Witches, good fortunes, and euill fortunes in diuers affaires, diſſeignes and attempts: as alſo thoſe who vndertake by inchantment, to leade captiue the wils and minds of men, vnto extraordinarie and vnreaſonable deſires or luſts, hatred or loue vnto, or againſt this or that perſon, or this or that particular thing, aboue or beyond the naturall power of reſiſtence, and the force and vſuall guidance of naturall reaſon, in the ordinary courſe of mans will and nature: but they are all included in the ſame generall kinde, and common proofe of their diuelliſh impietie, deriued from the word of God before alleadged vnanſwerably, and the true conſequence of Reaſon from thence.

The difference that is in their diuers kinds, doth onely ariſe from their ſeuerall ſubiects, manners, ceremonies, and rites, according to their ſeuerall differing contracts with the Diuell: ſome vſing in their workes, reuelations or oraculous anſweres, of the demand of reſorting people in one manner, faſhion, ceremonie, geſture, and rite; ſome in another, and ſome in none at all, certaine, or vnchangeable.

Concerning theſe ceremonies, with their ſeuerall con-

tracts, and the manners thereof, I will not write, partly, becauſe in this place not much materiall; partly, becauſe they are difficult to detect, except by the Witches owne free confeſſion, which happeneth very rare and ſeldome; partly, becauſe they tend more to the ſatisfaction of curioſitie then of vſe, and therefore are not without ſome danger publiſhed. It hath now beene manifeſt by the word and mouth of God, vnto the reaſon of man, how a Witch or Sorcerer may euidently appeare vnto right Reaſon; namely by his voluntary vndertaking to bee enquired at, for knowledge and reuelation of ſuch things as are hidden by God from all knowledge of men, and are ſolely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits, as hath beene by learned Authors and by reaſon declared.

The reuelation being found ſupernaturall, doth diſcouer the ſupernaturall Agent or Author the Diuell, whoſe proper act whatſoeuer man doeth vndertake in part, or in whole, muſt neceſſarily buy or borrow from him, and thereby be conuinced vndoubtedly of contract with him.

We haue produced diuers ſorts of noted Practiſers likewiſe of this inhibited contract, both in the holy Scripture expreſſely nominated, and alſo by their ordinarie common cuſtome herein obſerued in ſeuerall kindes.

Concerning them all, we will conclude as a corallary vnto all that went before, with the teſtimonie and confirmation of *Lucius Apuleius*, that famous, expert, & learned Magician, in his booke *de Aureo Aſino*, from his long proofe and acquaintance with the Diuell: *Dæmones* (ſaith hee) *præſident Auguriis, Aruſpiciis, oraculis, Magorum miraculis*, that is, the Diuels are chiefe preſidents, haue chiefe power or authoritie, are chiefe Maiſters, Guides, or Rulers ouer Diuination, or reuelation by the ſignes taken in flying of fowles, of diuination by inſpection of the entralls of beaſts, of Oracles, and of all the miracles or miraculous workes of Magicians. They that will not beleeue the holy Scripture, nor the teſtimony of ſo many men and ages,

that

that the Diuell is the sole Author of vaine miraculous reuelations, diuinations and workes, let them credit the Magician his owne mouth.

As we haue hitherto viewed, how Witch-craft and Witches may bee, first, by sense manifestly detected: secondly, by reason euidently conuicted: so let vs now consider, how they may bee both produced vnto the barre of Iustice, and bee arraigned and condemned of manifest high Treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Diuell.

Concerning the first, since it chiefely consisteth in that which is manifest vnto the outward sense, if the witnesses of the manifest magicall and supernaturall act, be substantiall, sufficient, able to iudge, free from exception of malice, partialitie, distraction, folly; and if by conference & counsell with learned men, religiously and industriously exercised, in iudging in those affaires, there bee iustly deemed no deception of sense, mistaking of reason or imagination, I see no true cause, why it should deserue an * *Ignoramus*, or not bee reputed a true Bill, worthy to bee inquired, as a case fit and mature for the same due triall, which Iustice, Law, and equitie haue ordained in common vnto all other rightfull hearings and proceedings by witnesse and testimonie, although it is likely to prooue a rare plea or cause, because in reason not too frequently to bee found, and farre lesse * in it selfe common or vsuall, then is vulgarly reputed. It might notwithstanding, haply bee more oft detected, if more diligently according to reason inquired.

* Crimina Meleficorum sunt communis fori, Pertinent ad forum Ecclesiasticum quatenus sunt Hæretici pertinent ad forum seculare quatenus cædes perpetrant in hominibus aut aliis animalibus, Binsfildius præl.ud 13.

* Quidam plus æquo tribuunt operationi Dæmonum, Binsfeldius.

The second kinde of Witch by euidence of reason discouered, is farre more frequent then the first, as appeareth by the varietie and multitude of names, which it hath branded vpon it, and the diuersitie of kindes and fashions which it hath put on. It is likewise more easily detected and prooued.

A supernaturall reuelation being first made truely manifest (lest preposterously wee haply call a surmised, or falsely suspected offender into question, before any offence

be

be apparent or knowne; which is an vniuſt iniury, and worthy of rebuke and ſhame with God and iuſt men) a ſupernaturall reuelation (I ſay) being manifeſt, any mans guilty contract therein is prooued, by his vndertaking to bee enquired at therein.

That vndertaking likwiſe is eaſily knowne & diſcouered by thoſe that haue inquired. The foundation of this way of inueſtigation of this Witch or Sorcerer, is the Word of God it ſelfe before recited, and iuſt and true reaſon built thereupon, cannot fall or be ſhaken.

Thus hauing brought theſe priſoners to the Barre, I there arreſt any farther progreſſe, and leaue them to Iuſtice, to the decree and ſentence of the reuerend, graue, and learned Iudge, and ſo proceede the third promiſed way of inueſtigation, and inquiſition of Witches and Sorcerers, according to likely preſumption, probable and artificiall coniecture.

But before wee arriue vpon that point, it is neceſſarie, that firſt a materiall obiection bee ſatisfied. That is, in the forementioned Iudgement of ſupernaturall workes of Sorcery manifeſt to ſenſe, how can any true teſtimony or witneſſe be required or expected, ſince doubt is made whether really or truely, or deluſorily and in ſeeming onely, many or moſt things of that kinde, are ſeene or heard? Hereto is anſwered: As a true ſubſtance is ſeene not of it ſelfe ſimply, but in and by the outward true ſigne, ſhape, proportion, colours, and dimenſion inherent therein, and inſeparable there-from; ſo the true likeneſſe, reſemblance and pourtraiture of that ſubſtance, when ſeparated from that ſubſtance, is as truely and as really ſeene. Therefore, experience doeth ſhew vs, that the ſame eye which ſaw the ſhape, proportion, and figure, together with the true ſubſtance, doeth as perfectly both ſee and know it, when it is ſeparated from the ſubſtance by the Art of the Painter.

As in the true miracles of God, wrought by the hand of his ſeruant *Moſes*, the true and vndoubted ſubſtance of a truely created Serpent, was ſeene when it was changed from

from a rodde, by the outward proper and inherent ſhape: ſo as truely was an outward pourtraiture and likeneſſe of Serpents ſeene, in the falſe miracle of the ſeeming tranſmutation of the Sorcerers roddes. For how could religion or reaſon condemne thoſe miracles of the Diuell for illuſions, if the liuely reſemblance of miracles appearing manifeſtly vnto the eye, had not thereby made them knowne? For an example, or illuſtration, how is a iuggling deceit knowne but by the eye? The ſight is ſaid to bee deceiued therein. Therefore it doeth ſee that which doeth deceiue. Reaſon likewiſe comparing that which was ſeene, with that which is not ſeene; that is, the counterfait with the true ſubſtance, doeth prooue the counterfait the preſent obiect of the ſight. The ſame eyes therefore that ſaw, in the true miracles of *Moſes*, the ſubſtance of a Serpent by the true inſeparable inherent ſhape, ſaw likewiſe the true image and picture of a Serpent, in the falſe and ſeeming miracles of the Enchaunters of Egypt. The teſtimony of the preſentation of both vnto the eye, is as true as trueth it ſelfe; becauſe the Word of trueth hath ſaid it. That the Diuell is as powerfull as the moſt excellent Painter, to repreſent any the moſt true and liuely likeneſſe of any creature, is in reaſon cleare, and hath beene alſo before prooued.

Therefore a true teſtimonie may bee truely giuen, and iuſtly accepted or taken of a liuely ſhape, figure, likeneſſe, or proportion, really preſented (by the Art of the Diuell) vnto the eye. All the doubt then remaining, is, to put a true difference betweene that which our imagination doeth repreſent vnto vs, from within the braine, and that which wee ſee without by the outward ſenſe. This difference will beſt appeare by an example. *Fernelius* in his firſt booke, *cap.* 11. *de Abd. rer. cauſ.* doeth make mention of a man, who by the force of charmes, would coniure into a looking glaſſe certaine ſhapes or viſions, which there would either by writing, or by liuely preſentations ſo perfectly expreſſe and ſatisfie, whatſoeuer hee did demaund or commaund

vnto them, that easily and readily it might bee distinguished, and knowne by standers by. This *Fernelius* doeth report that hee saw himselfe. What shall wee say herein? Was this Diuelish practise a thing doubtfull? Was it not manifest to many eyes, diuersitie of beholders, and the iudicious view of a learned and discerning sight. The like *Franciscus Picus Mirandula* reporteth, *videlicet*, that a famous Magician of *Italy* in his time, did keepe the skull of a dead man, out of which the Diuell did deliuer answeres vnto men enquiring, when the Wizard had first vttered certaine words, and had turned the skull toward the Sunne. These things being palpably seene, could not bee meere imagination. Those things which are meerely in imagination (with those men whom diseases depriue not of their sense or reason) are by right reason and true sense, after a short time of their prevalence, easily detected to be imaginary; but those things which are truely, really, and certainely seene, remaine the same for euer after in their due reception of sense; with vndoubted and vnchanged allowance of reason.

Hence it is, that a man in a sleepe or dreame, though for a short space, hee doeth oft times verily, really, and very feelingly (as it were) thinke himselfe in many actions and employments; yet when hee awaked from sleepe, his sense and reason doe tell him hee was but in a dreame. Many sicke persons likewise vsually, though waking, dreame of things falsely imagined, but the disease being gone, and their sense and reason there-from recouered, they then know and laugh at the fallacies of their imaginations. By these short instances it is apparent, that it is not a thing impossible, but vsuall and familiar vnto all kinde of men that want not their common wits, to distinguish betweene those things which are onely in imagination, and those which are reall and indeede.

From hence we may then truely conclude, that against the acts of Sorcerie and Witch-craft manifest to sense, the due testimonies of vnderstanding, discreete, and iust men, ought

ought to bee no leſſe equiualent then againſt another open acts, or crime whatſoeuer, whereof the Witch of *Endor* may ſerue to ſhut vp and conclude all doubt for euer herein, for an vnanſwerable inſtance and proofe. Shee acknowledgeth her guilt and crime might bee made manifeſt vnto *Saul* in theſe wordes, 1. *Sam.* 28. 9. Wherefore ſeekeſt thou to take mee in a ſnare, to cauſe mee to die? *Saul* likewiſe himſelfe doeth grant vnto her, the ſufficiency of his teſtimony to cauſe her to die, *verſe* 9. in theſe wordes, As the Lord liueth, no harme ſhall come vnto thee, for this thing: meaning, by his teſtimony of her fact, no harme ſhould come vnto her. But here may bee obiected, that it was not his teſtimony of her fact of raiſing the viſion of *Saul*, which the Witch did feare, but his teſtimony of her confeſſion of her ſelfe to be a Witch, by promiſing to vndertake it. The contrary is manifeſt by the Text, *verſe* 21. See, thy handmaide hath obeyed thy voyce, and I haue put my ſoule in thy hand, and haue obeyed the word which thou ſaidſt vnto me. And thus is the doubt concerning the ſufficiencie of teſtimonies, and witneſſe in caſe of Witch-craft ſatisfied. It now remaineth as was promiſed and intended, that we next view that light vnto the diſcouery of Witch-craft, which artificiall coniecture, probable reaſon and likely preſumption doe afford, ſince what ſenſe and reaſon haue made manifeſt is already declared.

CHAP. XII.

That Witches and Witch-craft may be diſcouered by probable reaſon and preſumption.

AS from things euident to ſenſe, and manifeſt to reaſon, there iſſueth a certainety of vndoubted knowledge: ſo in things that carry onely probabilitie, diligence doth beget and produce verity and * truth of opinion. Hence it commeth to paſſe, that he who truely knoweth, and knowingly can diſtinguiſh and diſcerne the validitie, nature,

* Opinio vera eſt habitus circa concluſiones ex Dialecticis pronunciatis, Ariſt. in lib. Analyt.

nature, difference, and right vſe of probabilities, doth moſt ſeldome in his opinions miſtake or erre.

Hence alſo it commeth to paſſe, that according to ſeuerall meaſures, and degrees of diligence, ſtudy, practice, and exerciſe of iudging in probabilities, men doe diuerſly differ, ſome excelling other in the merited ſtiles and attributes of ſubtiltie, Policy, Sagacity, Exquiſitenes. It is true, that in probabilitie, is no perpetuall * certainty: notwithſtanding he that warily and wiſely weigheth it, cannot in the vncertainty thereof but finde more certainty, then in blinde and vnlikely caſualtie; then in raſh attempts and proſecutions, voide of counſell, or likely reaſon.

* Certum eſt, quod nunquam aliter fiat, probabile, quod plerunque ita fiat, Cicero.

For although ſometimes thoſe things which ſeeme moſt likely and probable, doe happen to prooue falſe, yet doth nature and reaſon teach and inioyne vs rather to giue credit thereto; and experience doth manifeſt that the cauſe of deception therein, for the moſt part, doth conſiſt in the weakeneſſe of mans iudging thereof aright. For in iudging of probabilities, are great oddes, ſome things onely ſeeme probable to ſuch as are * wiſe, learned, expert, ſubtill: ſome vnto the moſt exquiſite Iudges alone: ſome to euery vulgare; ſome to the choiſe and beſt ſort of Vulgars, and not vnto all; and in theſe differences, doth neceſſarily breede much error and miſtaking. Notwithſtanding, the vertue and force of probabilitie it ſelfe, ſimply doth not deceiue, or vſually faile, but as it is diuerſly and differently conceiuedb y men, that oft prooueth falſe, which ſeemed likely. *Vatem hunc perhibemus optimum*, ſaith *Cicero, qui bene coniiciet*, that is, we auouch and affirme that man to be the beſt Prophet, or prognoſticator of iſſues to come or happen, who hath the power and skill of right and true coniecture, which euer conſiſteth in the exquiſite perpenſion of probable inducements.

* Probabilia ſunt, quæ probantur aut omnibus, aut plurimis, aut certe ſapientibus, & iis ſi non plurimis, at maxime probatis, quorum eſt ſpectata Sapientia, Ariſtot.

What is among men more admired, or more worthy to be admired, then this art, this skill, this power? Who doth not know what vſe, alſo what benefit doth ariſe thereby, both vnto the true warrant and allowance of action, and alſo

so vnto the maintenance, and iustification of right opinion, in counsels and deliberation? As in all other faculties and sciences, the excellencie and necessitie thereof doth brightly shine: so most apertly vnto common obseruation, it doth prooue and manifest it selfe in the two seuerall professions of the *Logician and the Orator*.

The *Logician* in his discrepations and questions, concerning doubts and ambiguities, by the diligence of subtill dispute, from the light of probabilitie, rectifieth the vnstable fluctuation of vnconstant opinion, and produceth through mature disquisition, and raciocination, what is most safe, most consonant with truth, to hold, affirme, or be perswaded.

The *Orator* in his coniecturall state or questions, in his pleas of doubtfull and controuersed facts, or rights, wherein oft-times probabilitie and likelihood, seeme to stand equall and vnpartiall vnto both parts: notwithstanding by mature, acute, and seasonable pressing, and vrging that which is most like, most reasonable, and consonant with right, with law and equitie, in the end doth bring into light, and discouer, what is most equall, vpright, and worthy to be credited, or respected. What euictions of truth and right, what conuictions of guilt and errour doe dayly issue from hence, common experience, doth prooue and demonstrate.

Thus much briefely prefixed in generall, concerning the necessitie, light and truth of probabilities; it now remaineth to consider the vse and power thereof likewise, in our particular proposed subiect of Witch-craft, which common sense doth not onely iustifie (as in all other subiects) but the word of vndoubted truth.

Almightie God, in case of Idolatrie, doth not onely publish and proclaime his detestation of that great sinne it selfe, but therewith doth include whatsoeuer hath any probabilitie of respect, or reference thereto; whether in affection and inclination, or in ceremonie or superstitious shew. This is euident, *Deut.* 18. *verse* 9. where he first forbiddeth

biddeth his people ſo much as to imitate, or doe after the manners of the Gentiles; and afterward particulariſeth their making their ſonnes and daughters to paſſe thorow the fire. Likewiſe *Leuit.* 19. 27,28. where he forbiddeth as much as the cutting of his peoples heads, or the corners of their heads round, or marring the tufts of their beards, or marking or cutting of their fleſh, as was the manner of Infidels and Gentiles, in their mourning and lamenting of the dead. Likewiſe *Deut.* 16. 21. where he forbiddeth ſo much as the planting of any groues of trees neere his Altar, becauſe it was the cuſtome, inuention, manner, and reſemblance of Idolaters.

As in caſe of Idolatrie, ſo in caſe of Witch-craft, which is likewiſe a kinde of Idolatry, becauſe the worſhip of Diuels, Almightie God in thoſe places of holy Writ, where he publiſheth and proclaimeth his high diſpleaſure againſt Witches and Sorcerers, with that abominable ſinne it ſelfe, doth alſo condemne as abominable; Firſt, in generall all kinde of ſhew, of affection, liking, inclination, or reſpect thereof; Secondly, any cuſtomes, faſhions, rites, ceremonies, ſuperſtitions, or geſtures from thence deriued, or belonging thereto.

The firſt is manifeſt, *Leuit.* 19. *verſe* 31. There the Prophet, from their God *Iehouah*, doth charge his people, that they doe not ſo much as turne toward, or decline toward Sorcerers or South-ſayers, vouchſafe to aske any queſtion, or to reſpect them: and *Leuit.* 20. *verſe* 6. he giueth iudgement and ſentence of death, againſt that ſoule that doth but turne or looke toward them.

The ſecond is likewiſe manifeſt, *Iſaiah* 8. *verſe* 19. where Almightie God noteth the ſuperſtitious peepings, whiſperings, and mutterings of Sorcerers, and according to thoſe geſtures, doth with reproch terme them whiſperers, mutterers and peepers: and *Deut.* 18. *verſe* 10,11. he rehearſeth their mumblings, and charmings, and their ſuperſtitious marking the flying of fowles; and *Leuit.* 19. *verſe* 26. he noteth their vaine and ceremonious obſeruing of times.

If

If then Almightie God be ſo ſtrict, that he will not endure or tolerate ſo much as a friendly looking toward Sorcerers: the leaſt reſpect giuen vnto them, or ſo much as a demand of a queſtion at their hands, any inclination toward them, any their ceremonies, rites or ſuperſtitions, yea, ſo ſmall a matter as their very outward geſtures; how can religious zeale, or the duty of man toward God his Creator, eſteeme any of theſe, or the like, or the leaſt of them, leſſe then ſufficient matter of probable doubt, preſumption, religious iealouſie, and ſuſpicion againſt ſuch men, as doe, or dare preſume to imitate, to practiſe or vſe them?

As the holy Scripture hath pointed out ſome few geſtures, manners, and rites of Sorcerers, for an example and light vnto all other of the ſame kinde: ſo hath the daily obſeruations of ſucceeding times added infinite more, which haue, doe, and ſtill may encreaſe, multiply, and be added, and newly inuented, and put on new different ſhapes and faſhions, according to the fancie of the contractors therein, which are the Diuell, and man poſſeſſed by him, in whoſe powers and will, according to the nature, qualitie and conditions of their contract, dependeth and conſiſteth the variation, or innouation of ceremonious rites.

For this cauſe, among Authors and records both of elder and later times, wee reade of ſuch diuerſities and numbers of ſuperſtitious litations, dedications, performances, and a diabolicall ſolemnities. As therefore we haue manifeſted ſuch ſuperſtitious rites, ceremonies and geſtures of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture hath noted and deciphered; ſo let vs propound ſome other by after-times, and other Authors obſerued.

Some haue vſed in their intention or execution of their Diabolicall workes, or in the way of preluſion one kinde of * ceremonious homage, and ſome another. Some doe neuer attempt nor enterpriſe a Diabolicall execution, but with mumblings, whiſperings, and ſecret ſounds, and words heard

* See Maſter Perkins diſcouery of Witch-craft, chap. 2. pag. 48.

heard grumbling in their mouthes: as *Theophraſtus* in his 9. booke of herbes and plants doth witneſſe, concerning certaine Magicians in gathering *Helleborus*, and *Mandragora:* and as is likewiſe vndoubtedly diſcouered, by the great attributes that are by many famous Writers aſcribed vnto the Caball of the Iewes, and vnto letters, characters, words, ſillables and ſentences ſuperſtitiouſly pronounced.

Galen writeth, that a certaine Sorcerer by vttering and muttering but one word, immediately killed, or cauſed to dye a Serpent or Scorpion. *Beninenius* in his booke *de Abd. morb. cauſ.* affirmeth, *That ſome kinde of people haue beene obſerued to doe hurt and to ſurpriſe others, by vſing only certaine ſacred and holy words.* It is apparent likewiſe, that others haue accompliſhed their diueliſh ends, by apparitions, ſhapes, or figures, raiſed or coniured into glaſſes; as *Fernelius*, an eye-witneſſe, in his booke *de Abdit. rer. cauſ.* doth publiſh. Some receiue power and vertue from the Diuell vnto their Diabolicall preparations, by certaine inchanted hearbes, or medicines which they mixe and gather, ſometimes with braſſe hookes, ſometimes by Mooneſhine in the night, ſometimes with their feete bare and naked, and their bodies clothed with white ſhirts, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some are reported, to obtaine of the Diuell their deſired ends or workes, by deliuering vnto the Diuell bonds or couenants, written with their owne hands. This *Serres* the French Chronicler doth report, confeſſed by certaine Witches, in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth. And Mr. *Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth make mention of a yong man, who deliuered a bond vnto the Diuell, vpon certaine conditions, which bond was written with the yong mans owne blood, and vpon his repentance, and the earneſt zealous prayer of the people vnto God in his behalfe, was redeliuered, and caſt into the Church in the view and ſight of the whole aſſembly there and then being. Some deriue an effectuall vertue vnto their decreed Diueliſh workes, by hanging characters or papers about the necke, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some practiſe to bring their

Diueliſh

Diueliſh ends vnto iſſue, by coniured images and pictures of waxe, golde, earth, or other matter, as *Thomas Aquinas* in his booke *de occultis Naturæ* witneſſeth.

Holingshed, page 534. doth chronicle the execution of certaine Traitours, for conſpiring the king of Englands death by Sorcerous and Magicall pictures of waxe. The ſame author, page 1271. doth report, that in the twentith yeere of Queene *ELIZABETH*, a figure-flinger (as hee termeth him) being ſuſpected as a Coniurer or Witch, ſudainely dying, there was found about him (beſides bookes of coniuration, and other Sorcerous papers or Characters) the picture of a man wrought out of Tynne. Some late writers haue obſerued, that diuers Witches by ſuch pictures, haue cauſed the perſons thereby repreſented ſecretly to languiſh and conſume, as was lately prooued againſt ſome late famous Witches of *Yorke-ſhire* and *Lancaſter*, by the teſtimonies beyond exception of witneſſes, not onely preſent, but preſidents in their tryall and arraignment. Some execute their helliſh intentions by infernall compoſitions, drawne out of the bowels of dead and murthered Infants; as *Ioannes Baptiſt Porta* in his booke *de Magia naturali*, doth from his owne knowledge affirme, and thereto the *Malleus Maleficarum* with others doe aſſent.

Some practiſe alſo Sorcery by tying knots, as Sant *Ierome* teſtifieth in *vita Hilarij*, concerning a prieſt of *Æſculapius* at *Memphis*. Some practiſe Witch-craft by touching with the hand or finger onely, as *Biniuenius* ſaith. Some in their Sorcerous acts or coniurations, vſe partchment made of the skinne of Infants, or children borne before their time: as *Serres* reporteth from the confeſſion of Witches, in the time and raigne of *Henry* the fourth detected. Some for the promoting of their Diueliſh deuices, vſe the miniſtery of liuing creatures, or of Diuels and ſpirits in their * likeneſſe as hiſtories report, and *Theocritus* in his *Pharmacentria*, ſeemeth to credit, inducing there a Sorcereſſe, who by the power of her bird, did drawe and force her Louer to come vnto her.

* Perkins diſcourſe of Witch-craft, chap. 2. page. 48.

This seemeth not impossible vnto a Witch, by the multitude of liuing shapes, which the Diuell in former ages hath vsually assumed, termed *Faunes, Satyres, Nymphes*, and the like, familiarly conuersing with men. Some bring their cursed Sorcery vnto their wished end, by sacrificing vnto the Diuell some liuing creatures, as *Serres* likewise witneseth, from the confession of Witches in *Henry* the fourth of *France* deprehended; among whom, one confessed to haue offered vnto his Diuell or Spirit a Beetle.

This seemeth not improbable, by the Diabolicall litations and bloudy sacrifices, not onely of other creatures, but euen of men, wherewith in ancient time the heathen pleased their gods, which were no other then Diuels. And rather then the Diuell will altogether want worship, he is sometimes contented to accept the parings of nailes; as *Serres* from the confession of certaine French Witches doth report. Some Authors write, that some sorts of Sorcerers are obserued to fasten vpon men their Magicall mischieuous effects, and workes, by conueying or deliuering vnto the persons, whom they meane to assault, meats, or drinkes, or other such like; as is euident by the generall knowne power of the Magicke cups of the inchaunted Filtra or loue draughts: and as seemeth iustified by S. *Augustine*, in his 18. booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, making mention of a woman who bewitched others, by deliuering only a piece of cheese. Some of our late Countrie-men haue obserued, some Witches to mischiefe or surprise such as they intend maliciously to destroy, by obtaining some part or parcell of their garments, or any excrements belonging vnto them, as their hayre, or the like.

It is not to be doubted that the Diuell, that old *Proteus*, is able to change and metamorphise his rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, into what new shapes or formes are best sutable to his pleasure and his fellow-contractors most commodious vses and purposes. Concerning all the former mentioned, although it be exceeding difficult; nay, an impossible thing for any man to auouch euery of them

true

true in his owne knowledge or experience; yet for that some kindes of them wee may assuredly know and beleeue from God himselfe, who hath in his sacred word nominated both * apparitions of the Diuel, as also, incantations, charmes, * spels and familiarity with Spirits; as also for that reason doth demonstrate, that there may be many more kinds, besides those named of the same likenesse, nature abused, and diuelish vse; and for that vnto others some, the credit, worth and merit of those Writers by whom they haue been obserued and published, doth giue weight and estimation, it may be approoued as an infallible conclusion, that whereseoeuer any of them or the like, being diligently enquired after, are either really found, or in apparence or shew resembling, that there (with the concurrence of circumstances, and approoued precedence of a manifest worke of Sorcery consenting) that there, I say, it ought to be sufficient & vncontroled matter, or occasion of iust suspicion and presumption against the particular, in whom they are by iust witnesses free from exception, detected and palpably knowne, practised and exercised. As we haue now briefly recited and called to minde some sorts of such ceremonies, rites, superstitions, manners, instruments and gestures as are annexed vnto that kinde of Sorcery or Witch-craft which consisteth in action: So let vs also recite some other sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitions, which belong vnto that kinde of Sorcery which is conuersant in diuinations, reuelations of things hidden, predictions, and prophecies. Diuinations according to nature or art, as *Cicero* distinguisheth in his first booke *de Diuinatione*, we doe not intend or purpose, but that diuination which the same Author in the same place doth refer into a power aboue man, which he there termeth the power of the gods, betweene whom and diuination, the *Stoickes* make this reciprocation, *Si sit Diuinatio, Dij sunt, si Dij sint est Diuinatio*; that is, if there be right diuination or prediction of things to come not contained in Art or Nature, certainly that diuination is of the gods, as reciprocally

* Isaiah 8.19.
* Sam. 1.28.
8. Exod. Leuit. Deuteron.

where there are Gods, there is diuination. Here wee see plainely, not onely the antiquity, but the direct originall of diuinations, and that they do manifestly deriue themselues from Idol-gods, from Infidels, from Idolaters.

This is further euident likewise, by the generall current and report of all Histories, euen from the first beginning and foundation of *Rome* by *Romulus*, as through all ancient writings and writers, the frequent mention of *Augury*, *Aruspicy*, *Extispicy*, and the like, doth plentifully witnesse. The holy Scripture also and Word of God doth testifie the same, *Deut.* 18. *verse* 9, 10, 11. where diuination by the flying of fowles, by the obseruation of times, and the like, are reckoned among the abominations of the Nations, or Gentiles.

The originall then of Diuinations issuing from Diuels (because from false gods, the gods of the heathen and Idolaters) let vs for the better noting of the abomination it selfe, obserue and point out some of their ceremonies, manners, and superstitions also.

Some in olde time vsed to diuine, as by the flying of fowles, so by viewing of lightning, by monsters, by lots, by inspection of the Starres, by dreames, *per monstra, & portenta, fulgura, sortes, Insomnia, per Astra*, as *Cicero* testifieth at large in his bookes *de Diuinatione*. Some did vse to draw their Diuinations out of tubs, or vessels of water, wherein-to were cast certaine thin plates of siluer and gold, and other precious Iewels, by which the Diuels (which Infidels ignorantly called their gods) were allured to answere vnto demands, doubts, and questions, as is by *Psellus* described, and was vsuall among the *Assyrian* coniectors. Some deriued their Diuinations from looking-glasses, wherein the Diuell satisfied vnto demands and questions, by figures and shapes there appearing.

This kinde of Diuination was called κατοπτρομαντία whereunto came very neere and was like κρυσταλλομαντία. Some fetch their Diuinations by lots, taken from points, letters, characters, figures, words, syllables, sentences, which kinde of diuination

diuination is diſtinguiſhed by the name of κληρομαντία. If we ſhould number vp euery particular kinde of ſhape, wherein Diuination doeth ſhrowde it ſelfe, it would prooue a long and tedious voyage, not onely through fire, water, ayre, earth, and other farre diſtant and diuided parts of the wide and ſpacious world, but through ſiues, riddles, the guts and bowels of the dead, and many other ſecret haunts & holes, wherein as the inuincible *Labyrinths* of intricate illuſions, the Diuell doeth ſhadow and hide his ſubtill inſidiation of ſilly deceiued man.

He that deſireth more curiouſly to reade other particulars herein, I referre him vnto S. *Auguſtine, de natura Dæmonum*, and to *Camerarius, de Diuinationum generibus*. It is ſufficient that the trueth and poſſibilitie of theſe kindes of Diuinations and the like, with their ceremonies, rites, cuſtomes, and ſuperſtitions; as alſo their deteſted originall, end, vſe, and abomination, is eſteemed diuelliſh by the Word of God, and his moſt ſacred voyce, wherein vnder thoſe kindes of Diuination, by the flying of fowles, obſeruation of times, *Deut.* 18. *verſe* 10, 11. and vaine gazing and beholding the Starres, *Iſaiah* 47.19. he diſplayeth and iudgeth the nature and qualitie of all other the like, couered by what ſtiles or names ſoeuer. The enumeration of any more ſorts, might increaſe in number, and aduance curioſitie, but can adde nothing in ſubſtance or materiall vſe. The reaſon that the Diuell requireth theſe rites and ceremonies, S. *Auguſtine* doeth declare *lib.* 21. *cap.* 6. *de Cinit. Dei, Alliciuntur Dæmones* (ſaith he) *per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum, non vt animalia cibis ſed vt ſpiritus ſignis, in quantum ſcilicet hæc iis adhibentur in ſignum diuini honoris cuius ipſi ſunt cupidi.* That is, Diuels are drawne or Coniured, by diuers kindes of ſtones, hearbes, woodes, creatures, words, rimes, rites, or ceremonies, not as liuing creatures deſire food, but as ſpirits reioyce or delight in ſignes, becauſe thoſe ſignes argue reſpect, worſhip, and honour, whereof they are very ambitious and deſirous, as affecting Diuine worſhippe in

malice of God himſelfe and his Diuine worſhip. To the ſame purpoſe ſaith *Binsfeldius Comment. vel Explicat. in prælud. 9. Delectantur Dæmones ſignis cum imitari Deum ſtudeant in Sacramentis ſuis.* That is, Diuels delight in ſignes, rites, and ceremonies, as deſiring to imitate, or to be like God in his Sacraments.

Wee haue ſummarily (wherein for our information is ſufficient competence) produced ſome few ſorts of ceremonies, rites, and ſuperſtitious geſtures in both kindes, that is, both ſuch as belong to that kinde of Sorcery, which conſiſteth in act, and working, as alſo that which is exerciſed in Diuination, prediction, and reuelation.

The generall rule and reaſon is the ſame, and extendeth it ſelfe equally againſt both.

Let vs then in the concluſion thus conioyne them both together. What man is he among men ſo blind, who beholding in any man the former ceremonies, rites, preluſions, or geſtures, being ſuſpicious notes, markes, cognizances, and badges of Sorcerers and Witches, in either kinde, and doeth not thinke that he may with good reaſon doubt the ordinary correſpondence of fruits, & workes anſwerable thereto? Vnto the former preſumption, if circumſtances of time, place, inſtruments and meanes, fitting ſuch diuelliſh Actes, opportunitie, and the like doe adde their force, doeth not iuſt occaſion of doubt increaſe? For illuſtration and example, let vs ſuppoſe a perſon of a curious and * inquiſitiue diſpoſition in things hidden or inhibited, a man voide of the feare and knowledge of God, a ſearcher after Sorcerers, and their diuelliſh Artes, educate among them by kindred, affinitie, or neighbour-hood, with them hauing generall opportunitie vnto inchoation into that Diabolicall myſterie, a man likely and prone to become a receptacle of Diuels, expreſſed by his long obſerued, or knowne flying from, or hating all occaſions or places, where the name, mention, worſhippe, or adoration of Almighty God is in any kinde vſed; a man out of whoſe curſed lips hath at any time beene heard, the

* Maſt. Perkins in his diſcourſe of Witch-craft, chap. 1. pag. 11.

the * renouncing of God, or voluntary profession of loue and friendship vnto the Diuel (all which with horror sometimes my owne eares did heare, in a * woman at an open assise, being there indited vpon suspicion of Witch-craft.)

Let vs yet further consider in the same man, an extraordinary alienation of himselfe, from all societie and company with men (for that familiar conuersation with Diuels, begetteth an hatred and detestation, both of the remembrance of God or sight of men) likewise a frequentation or solemne haunting of desarte* places, forsaken & vnaccustomed of men, the habitations of *Zijm* and *Iijm*, graues and sepulchres. This seemeth, *Math.* 8. *Luke* 8. *Marke* 5. in the possessed true.

The possessed and the Witch, are both the habitacles of Diuels; with this onely difference, that the Witch doth willingly entertaine him.

His custome of haunting tombes and sepulchres, in the one doth make it probable, and credible in the other. Likewise a solitary solacing himselfe, or accustoming abroad oft, and vsually alone, and vnaccompanied at times and houres vnusuall and vncouth to men, as the most darke seasons of the night, fitting the darke workes, and the workemen of the Prince of Darkenes.

Let vs yet more particularly obserue this man branded with the former note, seeming or professing to practise workes aboue the power and possibilitie of man, to threaten or promise to performe, beyond the custome of men, whether in generall, or toward any particular. In a diuellish intended action bent against any particular, likewise wee may diligently examine any manifest speciall prouocation, first giuen: secondly, an apparent apprehension thereof expressed by words, gestures, or deedes: thirdly intention, or expectation, succeeding the prouocation, starting out oft-times, or intimated by any rash, vnaduised, or sudaine proiect of headie and vnbridled passion: fourthly, the opportunitie sutable vnto such an intended desseigne, as time and place competent for accesse, speech, sight,

* Perkins chap. 2. pag. 48. discourse of Witchcraft.

* She was easie and ready to confesse, that she renounced God and all his workes, but being required to say that shee renounced the Diuell & all his works she did refuse it with this addition of the reason, (videlicet) for that the Diuell had neuer done her any hurt.

* Serres, from the confession of Witches detected and censured in the raigne of Henry 4. of France.

ſight, or receiuing from, or giuing vnto the particular, againſt whom ſuch diuelliſh thoughts are ſet, any thing, wherein any inchanted power or vertue is vſually hid and conueighed.

After a Sorcerous deede is thus certainely obſerued to proceede, we may then further with vigilant circumſpection view, whether ought may be detected, iuſtly arguing his reioycing pride, or boaſting therein, that ſtandeth iuſtly ſuſpected, or ought that may prooue or expreſſe his doubt, or feare of diſcouery, his guilty lookes, cunning euaſions, ſhifting, lying, or contradictory anſweres, and apologies vnto particulars vrged.

Theſe circumſtances and the like, though each alone and ſingle may ſeeme of no moment or weight, yet concurring together, or aptly conferred, they oft produce a worth from whence doth iſſue full & complete ſatisfaction. *Veriſimilia ſingula ſuo pondere mouent, coaceruata multùm proficiunt* (ſaith *Cicero*) that is, euery ſingle circumſtance hath his weight and vſe, but conſenting and concurring together, they doe much aduantage. Since then what vertue or power ſoeuer, circumſtances and preſumptions, doe vſually and generally vnfold in all other ſubiects or matters whatſoeuer, the ſame equally and as largely, reaſon doeth here diſplay and offer in this of Witch-craft: why ſhould not the like practiſe thereof herein alſo bee vrged and found, as likely and ſucceſſull? I doe not commend or allow the vſuall raſh, fooliſh and fantaſticall abuſe of circumſtances, nor their wreſting and forging, nor the coniuration or raiſing vp of their likeneſſe, and ſhadowes, without any ſubſtance or trueth (as is too common and vulgar) out of meere fancy or defect of true iudgement, without the due manifeſtation of a certaine crime firſt in this kinde aſſured.

But where all the former circumſtances doe truely and really occurre, or moſt of them, or the moſt materiall amongſt them with an apparant vncontrouled precedent euidence of an vndoubted act of Sorcery, and are not indirectly

directly wreſted or guilefully extorted, but directly proued, & fairely produced and vrged; what man inioying his common ſenſe or reaſon, can be ignorant, what a large ſcope and faire fielde they doe yeeld to ſent, to trace and chace the moſt hidden and ſecret guilt of Witches whatſoeuer, out of their vtmoſt ſhifting moſt cloſe couerts and ſubtill concealements?

I doe not affirme circumſtances and preſumptions, ſimply in themſelues ſufficient to prooue or condemne a Witch: but what reaſonable man will or can doubt or deny, where firſt a manifeſt worke of Sorcery is with true iudgement diſcerned, and knowne certainely perpetrate: that the former circumſtances and preſumptions pointing vnto a particular, doe giue ſufficient warrant, reaſon, and matter of calling that particular into queſtion, & of inioyning and vrging him vnto his purgation and iuſtification from thoſe euill apparances, whereby through the differencies, iarres, contrarieties, and contradictions of the falſe faces and vizards of ſeeming truth (becauſe identity and vnity is properly and ſolely found with truth it ſelfe inuiolable and the ſame) guiltineſſe is oft vnable to finde a couert to hid it ſelfe, but rubbed or galled vnto the quicke, doth breake out and iſſue forth in his owne perfect and vndeceiuing likneſſe. It may be obiected, that it doth commonly fall out, and is ſo oft ſeene, that the hearts of Witches are by the Diuell ſo poſſeſſed, ſo hardned and ſealed vp againſt all touch, either of any conſcience, or the leaſt ſparke of the affections of men left in them, that there is no poſſibility, or hope of any preualence, by the preſsing of any preſumptions or circumſtances, which they for the moſt part will anſwere with wilfull and peruerſe ſilence.

This is and may be ſometimes true, yet is no ſufficient reaſon, why due proofe and tryall ſhould not alwayes diligently be made herein, ſince firſt experience it ſelfe doth witneſſe a manifeſt benefite thereby: ſecondly, the like reaſonable courſe and practice is knowne both vſuall, fruitfull and effectuall in all other diſquiſitions, and inquiſitions whatſoeuer: and thirdly, the Diuell himſelfe, the Witches

and Sorcerers great and graund Maſter, though of farre fewer words then Witches,(as ſeldome ſpeaking at all)and abounding with farre more ſubtiltie and cunning; yet is he not able by all his art or cunning,alwayes to hide his owne workes,but by preſumptions and circumſtances, wiſe and vnderſtanding hearts doe oft diſcerne and diſcouer them, as is by dayly experience ſeene and teſtified, and is confirmed by the proofe which all holy and godly men haue euer had thereof. And to this purpoſe, and for this cauſe the holy Scripture doth require Gods choſen children, to ſift and try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no; that is, whether they be of his holy ſpirit, or of the euill ſpirit which is the Diuell.

Although therefore God for his owne ſecret decree, or purpoſe, doe permit the Diuell ſometimes to hide and ſhadow the guilt of his aſſociates, Witches and Sorcerers, from the ſight or deprehenſion of man, and thereby,ſometimes, fruſtrate mans iuſt endeuour and duty of their diſcouery; yet doth he not totally or altogether herein ſubiect, or captiuate, or abridge mans power or poſsibility of preualence, euen againſt all the power and force of Diuels, as oft-times our dulleſt ſenſes cannot chooſe but witneſſe.

Could the Diuell, or their owne craft whatſoeuer, deliuer the Sorcerers from deſtruction out of the hands of *Saul*, who iuſtly deſtroyed them all out of the land of Iſrael, 1. *Sam.*18.*verſe* 9.or out of the hands of *Ioſias*,who according to lawe, tooke away or aboliſhed all that had familiar Spirits, and Southſayers. 2. *Kings chap.*23. *verſe* 24? The extirpation of theſe Sout hſayers, by thoſe Princes, was commended of God,and by his Lawe commanded, *Leuit.* 20.27. The ſame Lawe of God commaundeth, that no man be iudged or put to death, but by the mouth of two witneſſes, from whence it is neceſſarily collected, that the workes of Sorcery are not alwayes hidden,but oft-times ſo open, that they may be manifeſtly noted; otherwiſe, how could they be teſtified, which vnto their condemnation the Lawe doth euer preſuppoſe and neceſſarily commaund?

Neither

Neither is this Lawe of God any thing diſcrepant from the commom equity of all lawes, or from reaſon it ſelfe: firſt, for that many workes of Sorcery doe immediately in their firſt view, manifeſt themſelues to the ſenſe, as is euident, by the miraculous workes of the Enchaunters of Egypt, practiſed in the ſight of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. Secondly, for that many workes are apparent manifeſtly to Reaſon, in which, though the ſenſe cannot immediately diſcerne, or take notice of their quality and authour; yet by neceſſary inference and euidence of reaſon, they are certainly and demonſtratiuely prooued to iſſue from the power and force of Spirits and Diuels, as hath beene formerly declared, concerning both workes and alſo diuinations, prophecies, and reuelations hidden from all curioſity and poſſibility of man. Thirdly, for that circumſtances and preſumptions doe with good and likely reaſon call into queſtion, and iuſtly charge with ſuſpicion (as hath beene inſtanced) concerning the performers and practiſers of ceremonious rites, ſuperſtitious geſtures, actions and manners vſuall vnto Witches and Sorcerers. Since then, as is before prooued, Almighty God doth inioyne a neceſsity of teſtimonies, vnto all condemnations and iudgements of death whatſoeuer, and teſtimony doth alwaies neceſſarily include a manifeſtation of whatſoeuer is teſtified, either to ſenſe, or reaſon, or both; it followeth as a neceſſary concluſion vnto all that hath bin ſaid: that from things either manifeſt to ſenſe, or euident to reaſon, iſſueth wholly and ſolely, not onely the reaſonable and likely way of detection of Witches, but the very true way by God himſelfe, in all true reaſon intended and commanded. And from this way it is, both by multitudes of examples, by experience and reaſon manifeſt, that neither Witches, nor the Diuell himſelfe is altogether able to hide or defend their guilt. Diligence therefore herein duely and carefully exerciſing it ſelfe certainely ſhall not, nor can prooue the Lawe of God vaine, nor the owne endeuour fruſtrate or voide, although haply difficulties and impediments may ſomtimes interrupt, as in

all other caſes and affaires is vſuall.

Thus hath beene made manifeſt how Witch-craft is diſcouerable by ſenſe, and euident by reaſon; likewiſe, that it is no more inſcrutable or hidden from detection in the inquiſition thereof, by ſignes of preſumption, probable and likely coniecture or ſuſpicion, then all other intricate or hidden ſubiects, or obiects of the vnderſtanding whatſoeuer. For, although preſumptions are alone no ſufficient proofe, yet doe they yeeld matter and occaſion of diligent and iudicious inquiſition, which is the reaſonable way and due method of vpright proceeding, and the common, hopefull and warranted path vnto all detections, in all other caſes of doubt and difficulty whatſoeuer; wherein I ſee no cauſe or reaſon, why iudicious, wary and wiſe practiſe and proofe, weighing and preſsing circumſtances into the bone and marrow, ſhould not equally, in caſe of Witch-craft, as in all other caſes of iudgement and inquiſitions (though not euer becauſe that exceedes the nature of preſumption) equally, I ſay, and as oft ſhould not confound the guilty, and chaſe and winde out as faire an iſſue.

Certainely, if men would more induſtriouſly exerciſe their ſharper wits, exquiſite ſenſe, and awaked iudgements, according vnto the former reaſonable, religious, and iudicious wayes, exempt from the burthen and incumbrance of blinde ſuperſtitions, traditionary and imaginary inuentions and cuſtomes, no doubt, but experience would yeeld and bring forth in ſhort time, a much more rich increaſe of ſatisfaction, and more happy detection in iudiciall proceedings.

It is true, that in the caſe of Witch-craft many things are very difficult, hidden and infolded in miſts and clouds, ouerſhadowing our reaſon and beſt vnderſtanding.

Notwithſtanding, why ſhould men be more impatient or deiected, that in matters of Witch-craft, many things are oft hidden from our knowledge, and diſcouery, when the ſame darkeneſſe, obſcurity, difficulty and doubtfulneſſe, is a thing ordinary in many other ſubiects beſide, as neceſ-

ſary

ſary vnto vs, and concerning which, it may be no leſſe truely ſaid, that in this life of mortality, much more is that which is vnknowne, then that which is knowne and reuealed vnto vs.

Hence is that ancient ſaying of the Philoſopher: *Hoc tantum ſcio, quòd nihil ſcio,* that is, ſo few are thoſe things, which are demonſtratiuely, truely, and certainely knowne, that they are nothing in compariſon of the infinite number and multitude of ſuch things, as are either onely probable, or obſcure or inſcrutable.

For to deny that God hath giuen vnto man a great meaſure of knowledge in many things, were not onely groſſe darkneſſe and blindneſſe, but great ingratitude, yea impiety. Neuertheleſſe, it were alſo as great fatuity not to ſee or acknowledge, that God hath mixed this knowledge with much intricate difficulty and ambiguity, which notwithſtanding he doth in his wiſedome more or leſſe reueale diſtribute and diſpenſe, in ſeuerall meaſures, vnto ſeuerall men, according to their ſeuerall cares, ſtudies, indefatigable paines, and more induſtrious indeauour, in ſeeking and inquiring it: in defect whereof more commonly then either in Gods decreed reſtraint, or natures abnuence, mens deſires and labours are ſo often annihilate.

CHAP. XIII.

The confutation of diuers erroneous Wayes, vnto the diſcouery of Witches, vulgarly receiued and approoued.

AS true religion doth truely teach the true worſhip of God in that true manner which he requireth, and commandeth: ſo ſuperſtition in an vnapt meaſure or manner, doth offer vp and ſacrifice her vaine & fooliſh zeale or feare. Vnto her therefore & her ſacrifice, thus doth Almighty God reply; Who required this at your hands? I hate and abhorre your Sabboths and your new Moones, *Iſa.* 12. 13. The heathen Oratour could ſay, *Religio continetur cultu pio*

Deorum. True religion consisteth in the holy and true worship of God. Vnto the aduancing of the worship of the true God, the extirpation of Witches and Witch-craft (because it is the most abominable kinde of Idolatry) is a speciall seruice, and acceptable duty vnto God, expressely commanded by himselfe, *Deut.* 17. 3, 4, 5.

In the performance therefore of this worship, as it is solely and truely religious, to seeke their extermination by those meanes, and in that manner, which Almightie God doth approue and allow: so with misgouerned zeale or feare, in the ignorance, or neglect of the right manner or way, inconsiderately to follow vnwarranted pathes thereto, is plaine Superstition.

Iulius Scaliger, in his third booke of Poetrie, thus describeth very liuely the nature of Superstition. *Superstitio satisfacit ad notandum eum habitum, quo metuimus, aut Deum sine ratione, aut ei opera attribuimus quæ opera ne cogitauit quidem vnquam ille*, that is, this word Superstition doth serue to set forth such an habit or disposition of minde, wherein wee worship or so feare God, as is voide of cause or reason, or vnto our owne hurt or damage, we attribute vnto God, as of God, those workes or things, which Almighty God himselfe neuer thought or intended. The word which the Greekes vse for Superstition, is δειισιδαιμονία, *inconsulta & absurda diuinæ potentiæ formido*, that is, an absurd, and ill-aduised feare or worship of God, which certainely is there, where he neither requireth it, nor is true cause or reason either of such worship, or in such sort or manner.

In this speciall part therefore of the worship and feare of God, namely, in the discouery of Witch-craft and Sorcery, as wee haue before laboured to finde out those waies which are lawfull, iustifiable, and allowed: so let vs now briefely display the folly and vanity of erroneous and blind pathes, pointing deceitfully thereto; that we seeke not superstitiously to serue God, in our inioyned and commanded duties of the discoueries of Witches, with our owne vanities or follies, rash inuentions, or deuices; but in reasonable, iust,

discreete

diſcreete and religious proceeding, which is onely and ſolely acceptable with God.

In former ages and times, haue been publiſhed by diuers writers, many ridiculous traditions, herein ſo vaine, and ſo farre vnworthy any ſerious confutation, that they ſcarce deſerue ſo much as bare mention.

Of this ſort are the imagined profligations of the fits of the bewitched, by beholding the face of a Prieſt, by being touched by hallowed ointments, or liniments, by the vertue of exorciſation, of incenſe, of odours, of certaine mumbled ſacred or miſticall words.

I will therefore omit theſe, as by time it ſelfe worne exolete, found worthleſſe, and almoſt of later writers left nameleſſe, and will onely oppoſe and examine ſuch later experiments, as doe in our time and country moſt preuaile in eſteeme.

CHAP. XIIII.

The caſting of Witches into the Water, Scratching, Beating, Pinching, and drawing of blood of Witches.

IT is vulgarly credited, that the caſting of ſuppoſed Witches bound into the water, and the water refuſing or not ſuffering them to ſinke within her boſome or bowels, is an infallible detection that ſuch are Witches.

If this experiment be true, then muſt it neceſſarily ſo be, either as a thing ordinary, or as a thing extraordinary: becauſe nothing can happen or fall out, that is not limited within this circuit or compaſſe.

That which is ordinary, is naturall; as likewiſe that which is natural, is ordinary. *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond of his *Ethickes* ſaith of that which is naturall, *quod aliter non aſſurſcit*, that is, ordinarily it is not otherwiſe, then euer the ſame. From whence it doth follow by good conſequent, that whatſoeuer is ordinary, muſt be naturall, becauſe it keepeth the ſame.

ſame courſe and order, which is the property of nature.

For this cauſe *Scaliger* in his booke *de ſubtilitate* ſaith, *Natura eſt ordinaria Dei poteſtas*, that is, nature is the ordinary power of God, in the ordinary courſe and gouernment of all things.

If then this experiment in the tryall of Witches, be as a thing ordinary (as it is vulgarly eſteemed) it muſt be found likewiſe naturall. If it cannot be found naturall, it cannot be ordinary. That it is not, nor cannot be naturall, is manifeſt.

Firſt, for that the ordinary nature of things ſenſeleſſe and voide of reaſon, doth not diſtinguiſh one perſon from another, vertue from vice, a good man from an euill man. This our Sauiour himſelfe doth confirme, *Math. 5. verſe. 45.* God maketh his ſunne to ariſe on the euill, and the good, and ſendeth raine on the iuſt and vniuſt.

Nay, we may further obſerue in the booke of God, and alſo reade in the booke of nature and common experience, that the common benefit of nature, is not onely vouchſafed vnto all wicked men indifferently, but euen vnto Diuels themſelues, who doe not onely participate in nature the common eſſence, faculties and powers, proper vnto the ſubſtance and nature of all other Spirits; but alſo doe exerciſe theſe powers and ſpirituall forces vſually vpon other inferiour natures, ſubiect vnto their ſupernaturall nature, reach and efficacy, as is often ſeene in their workes euen vpon the bodies and goods of the bleſſed Saints and ſonnes of God.

Hereby then is euident, that nature cannot take notice, or diſtinguiſh a wicked man, no not a Diuell, and therefore much leſſe a Witch.

But here may be obiected, that diuers herbs and other ſimples, produce many ſtrange and wondered effects, by an hidden ſecret, and occult qualitie and property in nature, though there appeare no manifeſt qualitie oft-times in them, by which in reaſon or probabilitie they ſhould or can bee effectuall thereto. This Phyſicions doe dayly witneſſe

and

and prooue true.

Why then may not there bee likewiſe yeelded the like hidden power, or antipatheticall vertue in the nature of the element of water, and thereby a Witch bee detected; as well without knowne cauſe or reaſon thereof in nature; notwithſtanding naturally the euils or diſeaſes both of body and minde, are both detected, and cured by elementary ſubſtances or compoſitions, in which there is no manifeſt knowne proportion therewith?

It is truly anſwered, that although in this ſuppoſed experiment of the diſpoſition of the element of water towards Witches, caſualty may haply ſometimes ſeeme to iuſtifie it true; yet is not this ſufficient to euince it a thing naturall. Thoſe things which are naturall, neceſſarily and euer produce their effect, except ſome manifeſt or extraordinary interception or impediment hinder.

Thus fire doth neceſſarily, ordinarily, and alwaies burne and conſume any combuſtible matter or fuell being added thereto, except either ſome manifeſt or extraordinary hindrance oppoſe it. The like may be ſaide of all other elements for their naturall effects in their proper obiects. Naturall medicines likewiſe, if rightly accommodated with prudence, art and diſcretion vnto the right diſeaſe, doe neuer faile their vſuall productions or effects.

This Almighty God in his holy writ doth confirme, and long and aged experience of many hundreths of yeares hath ſucceſſiuely witneſſed, wherein the ancient records of all learned writers, haue euer teſtified innumerable medicinal herbs and drugges, certainely and truely to bee euer the ſame. Preſent times doe likewiſe ſee & witnes it, and no man doth or can doubt it in the right proofe. Concerning any ſuch nature or cuſtome in the element of water, in the refragation of Witches, who was as yet euer able to write and fully reſolue, or prooue it ordinary, neceſſary, certaine, euer or for the moſt part, not failing as is in courſe of nature moſt infallible and neuer doubted? What former ages haue ſucceſsiuely vouchſafed the mention of truth or cer-

tainty therein? Hath Almighty God, at all, ſo much as approued any opinion or thought thereof? Is it not rather to be iuſtly doubted, that it may be eſteemed among the abominations of the Gentiles, which God in his people doth deteſt, *Deut.* 18. *verſe* 9? Doe all men in our time, or good and iuſt men auouch their owne proofe in the tryall thereof? Or contrariwiſe, doe not many wiſe, religious, learned and equall minds with reaſon reiect and contemne it? Doth Law as yet eſtabliſh it, or reaſon prooue it? How can it then be propoſed as equiualent with thoſe reaſonable meanes or wayes, of iuſt proceedings or tryalls, which God, his diuine Lawe, his law of nature, iudgement, reaſon, experience, and the lawes of men haue euer witneſſed, perpetually and onely aſſured certaine and infallible?

It wanteth the vniuerſall teſtimony of former ages and Writers; in this our age it is held in iealouſie with the moſt iudicious, ſage, and wiſe: It hath no reaſonable proofe, no iuſtifiable tryall hath dared to auouch it vpon publike record, no lawe hath as yet, thought it worthy of admittance; and the Lawe of God is not prooued to prooue or approue it. If it had beene a thing naturall, ordinary, of neceſſary, or of certaine operation or power, and therein ſo euidently remarkeable, it is impoſſible it ſhould haue eſcaped authenticall approbation, or the ſame notable teſtimonies, which all other tryed truths haue euer obtained. From the former premiſes therefore we conclude, that it cannot be a thing naturall, neceſſary or ordinary. If it be not ordinary, then is it not alwaies the ſame; if not alwayes the ſame, then is it ſometimes failing; if ſometimes failing, then is it not infallible; if not infallible, then in no true iudgement or iuſtice to be truſted or credited. It now remaineth to inquire, whether being prooued falſe or ordinary, it may not be prooued true as extraordinary (for to eſteeme or grant it both is an impoſsibility in nature, and an abſurdity in reaſon.) Let vs grant, it may be iudged and deemed extraordinary; the next doubt then remaining is, whether being extraordinary or miraculous, it be of God or of the Diuell.

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The reaſon why ſome men ſuppoſe it ſhould be of God, is, for that the water is an element which is vſed in Baptiſme, and therefore by the miraculous and extraordinary power of God, doth reiect and refuſe thoſe who haue renounced their vowe and promiſe thereby, made vnto God, of which ſort are Witches.

If this reaſon be ſound and good, why ſhould not Bread and Wine, being elements in that Sacrement of the Euchariſt, be likewiſe noted and obſerued to turne backe, or fly away from the thraotes, mouthes, and teeth of Witches? and why, (if for the former reaſon, the water being an element in the Sacrament of couenant, made with God, in the firſt initiation into the faith, doe for that cauſe refuſe to receiue Witches into her boſome, and thereby giue an infallible proofe of a Witch?) Why, I ſay, ſhould not by the ſame reaſon Bread and Wine, being elements in the Sacrament of confirmation and growth of faith, refuſe and fly from thoſe much more, whoſe faith and promiſe made vnto God in riper and more vnderſtanding yeares, is by them renounced? And why for that cauſe, ſhould not Bread and Wine become as infallible markes and teſtimonies vnto the detection of Witches? If the reaſon be good in the firſt, it muſt neceſſarily be the ſame in the ſecond; and if it faile in the ſecond, it cannot be good or ſound in the firſt. Neither doth it or can it ſtand with any good reaſon at all, that becauſe ſo ſmal part of the element of water, is ſet apart vnto that religious ſeruice in the Sacrament; therefore, the whole element of water, or all other waters muſt thereby obtaine any generall common property aboue the kinde or nature. Neither is it as yet agreed, or concluded generally among the moſt learned, and reuerend Diuines, whether that ſmall part of water which in particular is ſet apart, or vſed in the Sacrament, doth thereby receiue any manifeſt alteration at all in ſubſtance, eſſence, nature or quality. If then that part of the element of water it ſelfe, which is hallowed vnto that holy vſe, be not manifeſted, or apparently prooued to be thereby indowed with any vertue, much leſſe

can it communicate any vertue vnto other waters, which did not participate therewith in the same religious seruice. Except then there may be prooued by this religious vse of water, some more endowment of sense or religion therein, then is in other elements, why should it more fly from a Witch then the fire, then the ayre, then the earth? The fire doth warme them, the ayre flyeth not from them, but giueth them breathing; the earth refuseth not to beare them, to feede them, to bury them. Why then should the water alone runne away or flye from them? It may be answered, that it is a miracle, whereof therefore there neither can nor ought reason in nature to be demaunded or giuen. If it be a miracle, it is either a true miracle, which onely and solely doth exceed the power of any * created nature, or is a seeming miracle by the power of the Diuell, working effects in respect of mans reason, nature, and power supernaturall and impossible; notwithstanding confined and limited within the generall rule, reason and power of vniuersall nature, which he * cannot exceed or transcend, being a finite creature, and no infinite Creator.

* Non est creator, nisi qui principaliter format: nec quisquam hoc potest, nisi vnus Creator Deus. Aug. 3. de Trin.

* Augustinus 3. de Trin. Alia potest si non prohibetur, Dæmon: Alia non potest, etsi permittatur, quēadmodum homo potest, ambulare si non prohibeatur, volare non potest, etsi permittatur Petr. Lomb. Sent. lib. 2. Dist 7.

Miracles, of the first kinde, are raising from the dead the son of the widow of Sarepta, by *Elias* 3. of the kings, 17. the diuiding the water of *Iordan* with *Elias* cloake, 4. of the *Kings* 2. the curing of the sicke by S. *Pauls* handkercher, *Act.* 5.19. the raising *Lazarus* by our blessed Sauiour, and the like.

Miracles of the second kinde, are all the workes of the Enchanters of *Egypt*, *Exod.* 7. which were onely diuelliſh sleights, cunning * imitations, counterfets, and Diabolicall resemblances and shadowes of the true miracles, wrought by Almighty God, in the hand of his seruant *Moses*.

If this miracle, or this miraculous detection of Witches by water, be of this later kinde, it is of the Diuell; and is not to be esteemed or named, where the Name of God is feared or called vpon.

For although the cunning fraude of the Diuell, aboue and beyond

beyond all capacitie of the weake ſenſe and vnderſtanding of man, doe ſo liuely oft-times caſt before our eyes, the outward ſhape and ſimilitude of the miracles of God, that man is not able eaſily to diſtinguiſh them, or at firſt ſight to put a true difference: yet muſt men ſtudiouſly, and circumſpectly be aduiſed herein, leſt raſhly they confound, or equall the vile and abiect illuſions of that damned creature the Diuell (though neuer ſo wonderfull in our eyes) vnto the infinite power of the Almighty Creator, in his true and truely created miracles, which is an high diſhonour vnto our God, and accurſed impiety.

For this cauſe, the holy Scripture hath admoniſhed and warned the weakeneſſe of humane vnderſtanding, not to be tranſported by ſignes and wonders, nor to truſt or giue credit to euery miracle: and our Sauiour himſelfe, *Math.* 24. *verſe.* 24. doth furniſh his Diſciples with carefull warning herein. And S. *Iohn*, in his Reuelation fore-telleth, that in the latter dayes and times, the Diuell and the great Whore of Babylon, ſhall with great ſignes, wonders, and miracles, ſeduce and deceiue the laſt ages, and people of the world.

Since then miracles are of no validity, except certainely and truely knowne to be of God; and ſince alſo it is not eaſie for euery Spirit to diſcerne therein, let vs duely examine and ſift this our ſuppoſed and propoſed miracle in the tryall and detection of Witches. *Petrus Gregorius Tholoſanus* in his *Syntagma Iuris, lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. in a tractate concerning the Relicks and Monuments of Saints, together with miracles, doth giue very honeſt, ſound, and ſubſtantiall direction.

Firſt, that all credited miracles be found and allowed by religious lawes and authoritie.

Secondly, that the perſons by whom they are firſt reuealed or knowne, or by whom they are auouched, be *teſtes idonei, omniq; exceptione maiores*, that is, that they be worthy witneſſes of vndoubted and vnſtained credit and worth, free from all iuſt exception, of holy life, and vnſtained conuerſation.

ſation. Without theſe cautions (ſaith he) no miracles ought to be eſteemed, or receiued as of truth.

How farre our vulgar tryall of Witches, by the ſuppoſed miraculous indication and detection of them by the water, is different from this care or reſpect, this equitie, religion, or humanitie, common practiſe doth openly declare, when without allowance of any law, or reſpect of common ciuilitie, euery priuate, raſh, and turbulent perſon, vpon his owne ſurmiſe of a Witch, dare barbarouſly vndertake by vnciuill force and lawleſſe violence, to caſt poore people bound into the water, and there deteine them, for their owne vaine and fooliſh luſts, without ſenſe, or care of the ſhamefull wrong, or iniury, which may befall oft-times innocents thereby.

Though this kinde of tryall of a Witch, might haply prooue in it ſelfe worthy to be allowed, yet is it not in euery priuate perſon iuſtifiable, or tolerable, or without warrant of authoritie in any ſort excuſable. The manner therefore of this vulgar tryall, muſt needs with iuſt and honeſt mindes, vncontrouerſedly, and vndoubtedly, be ruſticall, barbarous, and rude. Now to returne againe into the truth of the miracle it ſelfe in this tryall.

Firſt, let vs enquire with *Petrus Gregorius*, what religious lawes or authoritie haue admitted it as true.

Secondly, what religious, reuerend, iudicious, graue, or holy Spectators, or eye-witneſſes doe auouch it. Let vs yet farther proceede with the ſame Author, in the fore-named *Syntagma, lib.* 34. *cap.* 21. and by ſome other rules, farther examine this miracle, if it be well and duely auouched and credited, concerning the being thereof, whether that being be not a being of the Diuell, & of his miracles. *Conatus omnis Dæmonum* (ſaith the Author) *vnum habet generalem ſcopum, operibus Dei ſe obijcere, ei debitum honorem ſubfurari, pios hominum animos ſibi lucri facere, & a vero Deo retrahere.* That is, the workes of the Diuell haue one generall ſcope; namely, to oppoſe themſelues againſt the workes of God, to rob God of his honour, to drawe the hearts of men

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from God, and to gaine them vnto himſelfe. Let vs now conſider the fore-named miracle by theſe rules.

Concerning the approbation thereof by any religious lawes or authority, I haue neuer read my ſelfe, nor haue heard by others, of any authentike ſuffrage from claſſicall Author, and with good reaſon, I may conceiue and iudge a nullity therein.

Concerning any religious, learned, and iudicious Spectators and auouchers of this miracle, whoſe faith and credit may be wholly free from al iuſt exception, it hath euer been a difficult and hard taske to furniſh any true ſufficiencie or competency in this kinde, though multitudes and ſwarmes of deceiued Vulgars, continually and violently obtrude their phantaſticall ſominations. Since then as yet there doth no manifeſt law ſtand vp to patronage this miracle, and the learned, religious, and holy man able to diſcerne and iudge, and free from exception, is not at all, or hardly to be produced or found to auouch or countenance it true; it may be with good reaſon ſuſpected, and tha treaſon may iuſtly diſſwade all ſodaine, raſh, or haſty credit or truſt thereof. Now let vs examine, if it were vndoubtedly to be aſſumed as true, whether being true, it be not as truely of the Diuell. And firſt let vs conſider, whether it doe not oppoſe the workes of God, which was the firſt direction of *Gregorius*. It is herein truely conuicted, becauſe the nouelty and ſuppoſed miraculous force and might thereof, doth firſt vſually and eaſily intiſe vnſetled braines, raſhly to forſake the wayes of iudgement and iudicious legall proceeding, which is the ordinance and worke of God: ſecondly, doth imbolden ſtaggering and vnreſolued minds preſumptuouſly without warrant to expect, to aske or ſeeke a ſigne or miracle, which ordinarily or vnneceſſarily required, our bleſſed Sauiour apertly condemneth, *Math.* 16. An adulterous and vnbeleeuing generation doth ſeeke a ſigne or miracle. And as herein it directly oppoſeth againſt the decree and worke of God, ſo likewiſe by giuing occaſion and way, that ſuppoſed miracles may become vulgarly common and

ordinary

ordinary, whereby the true miracles and miraculous workes of God also may grow with vndiscerning men of lesse esteeme, vile and of no accompt. *Nam miracula Dei assiduitate vilescunt* (saith S. *Augustine*) the miracles and miraculous workes of God, being oft seene, become of smal or no reputation. The second tryall of a false miracle, was the robbing of God of his due honour and praise, which in this proposed miracle is partly prooued; by making the extraordinary work or vse of miracles ordinary, and thereby derogating from the power, worth and nature of Gods true miracles (as is before said): partly by vnthankfull vnder-valewing, omitting, or relinquishing the ordinary meanes of tryals and detections of doubtfull truths, which God hath made & giuen in his good grace; and therefore their contempt and neglect is a manifest robbing of God of his due praise and glory therein. The third tryall of the Diuels property in miracles, was the seducing of mens hearts from God vnto himselfe; which in our supposed miracle may be necessarily concluded. For if the miracle it selfe be vpon good grounds before alleaged, rightfully deemed to bee of the Diuell; it must necessarily follow, that whatsoeuer esteeme or reputation is giuen thereto, is a secret sacrifice of ignorance or superstition vnto the Diuell, and an hidden and couert seduction from God: and thus hath beene prooued, or at least, with good reason alleaged. First that the tryall of Witches by water, is not naturall or according to any reason in nature. Secondly, if it be extraordinary and a miracle, that it is in greater likelihood and probability a miracle of the Diuell to insnare, then any manifest miracle of God to glorifie his name, which is the true end of right miracles. Concerning the other imagined trials of Witches, as by beating, scratching, drawing bloud from supposed or suspected Witches, whereby it is said that the fits or diseases of the bewitched do cease miraculously; as also concerning the burning of bewitched cattell, whereby it is said, that the Witch is miraculously compelled to present her selfe.

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Theſe, and the like, I thinke it vaine and needleſſe, particularly or ſingly to confute, becauſe it doth directly appeare, by their examination, according to the former rules produced againſt the naturalizing of the detection of Witches by caſting them into the water, that firſt they are excluded out of the number of things naturall: ſecondly, that being reputed as miracles, they will alſo be rather iuſtly iudged miracles of the Diuell, then of God, by the former reaſons which haue ſtripped the ſuppoſed miraculous detection of Witches by the water, of any hopefull opinion that they can be of God.

Nor doth our law now in force, differ here from reiecting ſuch like miraculous trialls. See the triall by *Ordell* aboliſhed by Parliament the third yeare of *Henry* the third, *Coke 9. Rep. Caſe Abbot de Strata Mercella Fol. 33.*

CHAP. XV.

The exploration of Witches, by ſupernaturall reuelations in the bewitched, by ſignes and ſecret markes, declared by the bewitched, to be in the body of the ſuſpected Witch, by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched.

THere remaine as yet other miraculous explorations of a Witch, carrying in their firſt view a far more wondred repreſentation then any or all the former explorations. One is, when perſons bewitched, ſhall in the time of their ſtrange fits or traunces nominate or accuſe a Witch, and for a true teſtimony againſt him, or her, thus nominated, ſhall reueale ſecret markes in his or her body, neuer before ſeene or knowne by any creature; nay, the very words or workes, which the ſuppoſed, or thus nominated Witch ſhall be acting or ſpeaking in farre diſtant places, euen in the very moment and point of time, while they are in acting or ſpeaking; all which I haue ſometimes my ſelfe heard and ſeene prooued true. This is reputed a certaine

conuiction of a witch. An other miraculous tryal of a Witch and like vnto this, wonderfull is; when a ſuppoſed Witch required by the bewitched, doth touch him or her (though when vnknowne or vnperceiued by the bewitched themſelues,) yet according to the prediction of that iſſue by the bewitched, he or ſhee immediately are deliuered from the preſent fit or agony, that then was vpon him or her, which I haue alſo my ſelfe ſeene. For the better diſcouery of truth in theſe ſo wondered difficulties, let vs firſt recall to minde theſe few obſeruations in our former Treatiſe determined and prooued. Firſt, that the Diuell doth many miraculous and ſupernaturall things meerely ſimply and alone of himſelfe, for his owne ends, and without the inſtigation or aſſociation of a Witch. This was made manifeſt by his conference, diſputation and ſpeech with *Eua* after a miraculous manner, out of the body of the Serpent, when as yet neither Witch, nor Witch-craft were come into the world. Secondly, that the Diuell is able to obtrude or impoſe his ſupernaturall or miraculous workes vpon men, againſt their knowledge, liking, will, or affection, and being vnrequired. This is cleere by his tranſuection of the body of our bleſſed Sauiour, as alſo by his violent caſting of the bodies of the poſſeſſed, amongſt the people mentioned in the Goſpell. Thirdly, let vs not here forget ſpecially, that hee is able to tranſmit and ſend vnto, or into men vnrequired, and without their deſire or aſſent, ſecret powers, force, knowledge, illuminations, and ſupernaturall reuelations. This was prooued by the poſſeſſed in the Goſpell, who from a ſecret and hidden reuelation and power, aboue and beyond themſelues, were able to vtter that high miſtery, as yet hidden from the world, that Ieſus was the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not be knowne vnto them, by their owne reaſon or nature, being aboue and beyond all reaſon or nature, and by grace onely then begun to be reuealed vnto the bleſſed Diſciples themſelues. To thinke that the poſſeſſed could haue that knowledge equally with the Diſciples by the ſame grace, were impious derogation from their

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Apostolicall priuiledge and prerogatiue therein, vnto whom did properly belong the first fruits thereof alone.

This supernaturall reuelation therefore was transfused into the possessed by the Diuell, who could not be ignorant of the Lyon of *Juda*, the mighty destroyer of his spirituall kingdome, long before the disciples were borne, or capable of knowledge. And thus hauing recalled these obseruations, from them doe issue these necessary inferences. First, that all supernaturall acts or works in men, are not to bee imputed vnto those men. Secondly, that for this cause those supernaturall workes, are onely to be imputed vnto men which the Diuell, according vnto contract or Couenant which those men doth practise and produce.

And for this cause, in the inquisition of Witch-craft, when we haue truely first detected an act, done by a spirituall and supernaturall force (because it is in all lawes iniurious, to accuse of any act, before it be certainely knowne the act hath beene committed) then, and not before, wee ought indeuour directly and necessarily to prooue the contract, consent, and affection of the person suspected, vnto, or in that supernaturall act, that being no lesse essentiall, to detect and discouer the true and vndoubted Witch; then the supernaturall act, being certainely apparent, doth vndoubtedly prooue the Diuell, and his power therein.

This equall regard, in case of Witch-craft, ought to bee carefully ballanced, without which vaine and vnstable men shall euer at their lust and pleasure, vpon affections and passions, be priuiledged with impunity, to lay vniust imputations, and to vse wrongfull violence and oppression beyond all equitie, or reason.

When therefore men that are prudent, iudicious, and able to discerne, doe first aduisedly vpon good ground and reason, adiudge a supernaturall act euidently done, or at least worthy to be suspected: secondly, shall by iust and reasonable proofe, or at least liuely and faire presumption detect the contract, affection, or consent of any man in that act; then and not before, is the accusation, inquisition

and inditement of Witch-craft, against any man equall and iuſt.

For ſince a ſupernaturall worke can be truely and ſimply no act of a naturall man, and is the immediate hand and power of a Diuell (as is formerly prooued) it is the mans conſent, contract and couenant alone, in the act with the Diuell, that being detected and diſcouered, doth infallibly and eſſentially proone him a Witch, and not the act it ſelfe.

Theſe obſeruations, and conſiderations, firſt neceſſarily prefixed, let vs now proceed vnto the two former propounded experiments of the miraculous detection of Witches.

It is neceſſarily true, that it can ſolely proceed from a ſupernaturall power, that the bewitched are inabled in their traunces, to fore-tell the ſequell of the ſuppoſed Witches touch: likewiſe, that the nominated Witch, ſhall accordingly by her touch immediately free and diſpoſſeſſe the Sicke or the bewitched of their agonies.

It is as neceſſarily true alſo, that it can ſolely proceed from a ſupernaturall power, that the bewitched are able in their traunces to nominate the moſt ſecret and hidden marks in the bodies of the ſuſpected Witch, her preſent ſpeech * and actions in farre diſtant places, and the like, but whether theſe miraculous Reuelations, with their anſwerable euents, ought to bee eſteemed iuſt conuictions of the perſons thus by a ſupernaturall finger, pointed out and noted; as alſo whether they proceede of God or of the Diuell, is very materiall, to examine and conſider.

If they proceede from God, their end, their extraordinary neceſſitie and vſe, bent ſolely vnto the immediate ſpeciall glory, or extraordinary glorification of God therein, will euidently declare.

What more extraordinary glorification of God can be pretended in the needfulneſſe of a miraculous detection of Witch-craft, then of any other ſinne committed, as immediately

* Herein the Diuell affecteth to imitate the power of God in his holy Prophet, who was able by his diuine reuelation to make known what the King ſpake in his Priuy Chamber. 2. Kings verſe 12. cap. 6. He herein alſo counterfeiteth the Diuinitie of our Sauiour, ſeeing Nathaniel, when he was vnder the Figge-tree. Ioh. 1. 49.

mediately againſt God, and with as high an hand? Witchcraft is indeed one kinde of horrid renunciation, and forſaking of God, but there are many more kinds much more helliſh then this ſecret and concealed defection: as the open curſings, wilfull blaſphemings, and ſpitefull railings vpon God, euen vnto his face, profeſſed hatred and contempt of God.

Among many Offendors in theſe kindes, after their owne long prouoking continuance therein, and Almighty God his vnſpeakeable long ſuffering and patience: ſome few ſometimes haue been made hideous ſpectacles and examples vnto the reſt, of the infinite power and iuſtice of God, his vnſufferable diſpleaſure, indignation and direfull reuenging wrath. In this number was, for ſome time *Nebuchadneſer*, and *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, and in later times *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, and others the like. Many other as high Blaſphemers, and deſpiſers of God, notwithſtanding haue been permitted to eſcape any ſuch miraculous puniſhments, or fearefull notorious expoſings vnto the worlds view.

Rabſhakeh, railing on the liuing God, in the open view and hearing of the men of *Iſrael*, and *Oloferne*s denying the God of heauen, were not miraculouſly, or by any immediate hand of God ſmitten, but were ſuffered to grow on, vntill their harueſt of confuſion was ripe. That high degree of blaſphemie againſt the Sonne of the liuing God, hanging vpon the Croſſe for the ſinnes of mankinde, committed by the cruell and hard-hearted Iewes, in ſcorning, ſcoffing, and ſpitefull deriſion both of God in heauen, *Math.* 27, *verſe* 43. and alſo of the eternall Sauiour of the world, deſcended from heauen, was not by God then extraordinarily reuenged (as the incomparable greatneſſe of the ſinne might ſeeme to require) but was in Almighty God his iuſt iudgement, ſuffered, vntill in the due time, their owne execrations, and curſings of themſelues, and their poſterity, thereby to haſten and purchaſe the effuſion of that holy innocent bloud, did fall vpon them ſo heauily, that their whole

Nation, People, and Kingdome, became extirpate, vile, and vagabond for euer vpon the face of the earth. It is recorded in the *Reuelation, chap.*13. *verse* 5, 6,7. concerning the Beast, that he opened his mouth vnto blasphemy against God, his Tabernacle, and the Saints; that he spake great mighty blasphemies, yet power was giuen vnto him to continue, and preuaile therein many yeares,and a large space of time.

By these few examples it is euident, that neither the height, the nature, the quantitie, nor the qualitie, of the most abominable, or prouoking sinne, most odious vnto God and men, doth vsually, or alwaies draw downe from heauen vpon it selfe a miraculous immediate hand of Gods wrath. We may easily instance the like, concerning the sin of witch-craft, which is our particular subiect.

Although by the hand of his holy seruant Saint *Paul*,Almighty God did miraculously smite the Sorcerer *Elymas*, & as writers report, *Simon Magus*, by the hand of S^t^. *Peter*, multitudes and societies of other Sorcerers, and Southsayers among the *Caldeans*, escaped not onely the hands of *Nebuchadnezer*, in his wrath; but as it seemeth in the prophecy of *Daniel*, they liued many yeares in high esteeme, fame, and renowne, both in their owne Nation, and also in forreine Countreyes,yea through the world. There is no doubt, that *Ægypt* likewise did abound with swarmes of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture, and all times and writers report. Among the people of God also, the Israelites, it is manifest that diuers Sorcerers and Witches did shrowd themselues, and liued with impunity, as appeareth by the Witch of *Endor*, which king *Saules* seuerity, in their generall extirpation thorow the whole kingdome, had notwithstanding passed by,and left vnespied; as also by that special note and commendations, from Gods owne mouth and word of *Ioshua*,that is,that hee had taken away from amiddest his people, all the Enchanters and Sorcerers: by which it is likely and cannot be denied, that through the lenitie or careleſnesse of former Princes, they formerly had long securely

curely their breathed. That God doth not vſe by miracles to detect all, or moſt Enchanters, Magicians, or Witches, is farther made vndoubted; becauſe it ſhould follow then & thence neceſſarily, that he hath both in the firſt ages of the world, ordained lawes, and ordinary, legall courſes of proceeding againſt them in vaine; as alſo for that he doth, in the holy records of his ſacred word, make knowne his Decree, that they ſhall be permitted to liue and continue vpon the face of the earth among other, and as other vnrepentant ſinners, vntill his ſecond comming, and the laſt day of eternall doome, *Reuelat.chap.22.verſ.15.* without ſhall be Enchanters. If his Iuſtice and ſeuere iudgement ſhould by his miraculous power make ſo narrow ſearch amongſt them, as ordinarily to root them out, it were impoſſible any one of them ſhould eſcape his all-ſeeing reuengefull hand, to ſurniue vnto his generall decreed day of ſentence, and dreadfull doome, of all kinde of ſinnes and ſinners, which both in iuſtice vnto ſome, and mercy vnto other ſome, his infinite goodneſſe and wiſdome hath decreed, ſhall not be fruſtrate. Although therfore Almighty God doth ſometimes ſtretch forth his mighty hand miraculouſly to ſmite, or bring into light ſome horrid ſinnes and ſinners, his extraordinary power therein ſometimes onely extended, at his owne good will and pleaſure, doth not iuſtifie the preſumptuous expectation of the diſpenſation thereof in any particular. God who is the God of order, and not of confuſion, doth not ordinarily diſpenſe his extraordinary workes, nor vſually confound indifferently, ſo different natures in their end and vſe, and his owne decree. Nature it ſelfe doth alſo teach an impoſſibility in that which is extraordinary, to become or be expected ordinary. In that way which is ordinary, the induſtruous, the diligent, the prouident man therefore doth with carefull perſeuerance vprightly walke. The ſlothfull, onely the intemperate, the improuident man, either by folly or ignorance loſeth or by idle ſloth forgetteh, or omitteth, his ordinary way or opportunity, and ridiculouſly hopeth or truſteth vnto

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the redemption thereof, by extraordinary contingents or euents.

Thus it hath appeared, that in regard of any more ſpeciall or extraordinary glorification of God, in the detection of Witches, rather then of other as great and as abominable ſinners, their is no needfull or neceſſary vſe of myracles.

The ſecond conſideration was, whether they are not rather of the Diuell, then of God; as alſo, how they may be any iuſt conuictions of the ſuppoſed or ſuſpected guilty.

Wee will firſt herein examine the touch of the ſuppoſed Witch, immediatly commanding the ceſſation of the ſuppoſed fits of the bewitched. That this is a falſe or Diabolicall miracle and not of God, may be iuſtly doubted.

Firſt, becauſe the holy and bleſſed power of working miracles (among which, the healing the Sicke or the poſſeſſed was not the leaſt) was neuer of God diſpenſed, to haunt or follow the touch of wicked men, or Sorcerers or Witches.

Secondly, for that the true miracles of God (which were euer diſpenſed, either for the common good of his Church, or the declaration of his glorious truth, or for the extraordinary puniſhment and deſtruction of euill men) did neuer obſcurely, or indirectly, prooue themſelues or their ends, but in their manifeſtation were inabled to ouer-ſhine cleerely, all the fogges and miſts of doubt or queſtion.

The contrary hereunto in this our ſuſpected miracle is manifeſt, wherein is ridiculouſly imagined, that the bleſſed gift and vertue of healing the ſicke, deſcended from God aboue, may be reputed in the hands of a Witch a ſigne or teſtimony of his or her guilt and impiety, which euer hath beene, and is in it ſelfe a ſpeciall grace and fauour of God, and was euer vſed rather as a confirmation of the truth of Gods Miniſters and ſeruants. Let vs now conſider how this miraculous touch and the efficacy thereof, may be any iuſt conuiction of a Witch. No man can doubt that the vertue wherewith this touch was indued, was ſupernaturall. If it bee ſupernaturall, how can man, vnto whom nothing ſimply

ply is poſsible, that is not naturall, bee iuſtly reputed any proper Agent therein? If hee cannot bee eſteemed in himſelfe any poſsible or true Agent, then it remaineth, that hee can onely bee intereſſed therein, as an acceſſary in conſent; as a Solicitor or Tenant vnto a ſuperiour power. If that ſuperiour power (as is before prooued in the falſehood of his miracle) be the Diuell, the leaſt reaſonable doubt remaining whether the Diuell alone, or with the conſent or contract of the ſuſpected perſon hath produced that wonderfull effect: with what Religion or reaſon can any man rather incline to credit the Diuels information in the mouth of the bewitched (who is the common accuſer of God to men, and of men to God) then in requiſite pittie, pietie, and humane reſpect vnto his owne kinde to tender the weakeneſſe of fraile man, againſt the ſubtilty of the deceitfull Diuel. Shall man with man find leſſe fauour, then the Diuell with man againſt man? That the Diuell is able by the permiſſion of God, to annex or hang this miracle vpon this or that particular, is manifeſt, by the poſſeſſed in the Goſpell; vpon whom and their naturall actions and motions, he caſt ſupernaturall conſequences or concomitances. Was not their ſpeech attended with ſupernaturall reuelation, their hands with ſupernaturall force, to rend and teare in pieces iron chaines and bonds? If the Diuell be able to transfuſe, or caſt theſe miraculous concomitances or conſequences alone, and without allowance of any man or perſon where God doth permit; how is it in any equity or reaſon iuſt, that theſe impoſitions of the Diuell ſhould be imputed vnto any man? God forbid, that the Diuels ſignes and wonders, nay his truths ſhould become any legall allegations or euidences in lawe. We may therefore conclude it vniuſt, that the forenamed miraculous effects by the Diuell wrought and imputed by the bewitched, ſhould be eſteemed a ſigne or infallible marke againſt any man, as therefore conuinced a Witch, for that the Diuel and the bewitched haue ſo deciphered him. Theſe like miraculous ſtratagems may be exerciſed vpó any man,

or vnto any mans actions may be deceitfully or fraudulently by the Diuell conioined or apted. This therefore doth not inferre any mans guilt therein. It ought be a mans owne proper contract therein with the Diuell, necessarily and directly proued, that shall iustly condemne him. This contract may be and is plainly detected, by sifting and considering, that mans voluntarily assisting or promoting, promising, or vndertaking such supernaturall workes, with answerable performance thereof. As hath beene said, concerning the miraculous consequence of the touch of a suspected Witch; so may be determined concerning the supernaturall reuelations of secret markes or signes in her body, according vnto the prediction of the bewitched, as also of the discouery of the present actions, gestures, and speeches of supposed Witches in farre distant places. Diuers examples I my selfe haue seene in these kinds: I must necessarily acknowledge a more then natural power therein, because farre beyond the nature, reason, or power of man. But there is notwithstanding sufficient matter of doubt, whether such reuelations, secret signes, and marks, though found in the named persons or parts true, as also the right pourtraitures & shapes of the supposed or accused Witches, though neuer of the bewitched before seene, and yet by the bewitched truely described; there is, I say, notwithstanding, sufficient matter of doubt, whether they are not very insufficient to charge or accuse any particular thus pointed out or marked. The Law and expresse commandement of God doth allow of no reuelation from any other Spirit, but from himselfe, *Isa.* 8. 19. Whether these reuelations are immediately of God, if their due examination by the rule of his Word * doe not clearely determine, rash or hasty perturbation or passion ought not presume it. The lawes of men also admit no supernaturall illuminations or reuelations, as any grounds of iust tryals or decisions of right or truth. It follows therefore necessarily, that they are voide, & ought to be of no force or credit in vpright iudgement with iust and righteous men. It may bee obiected, that

* ESTIN AMARTIA ANOMIA. Quicquid non congruit cum lege, peccatum est.

that truth is found in theſe reuelations, and truth ought be of regard. It may hereto againe bee replied, that although truth in it ſelfe be great, and ought and will preuaile; yet in the abuſe, euill vſe, or corrupted, or depraued end thereof, it ought not deceiue nor is of force. The Diuell, as all other cunning lyers and deceiuers and imitators of that his art, vſually mixe truths with lyes, that thoſe truths giuing credit vnto lyes, men may beleeue both and ſo be deceiued. It was euer the onely ſafe way of lying, to face and guard it with ſome plauſible truths. In the former reuelations therefore, repreſentations and true deſcriptions in the bewitched, of perſons of ſecret markes and ſignes, of ſpeeches, geſtures, and the like, although the Diuell be found true, or ſpeaking truth, yet may he notwithſtanding haply bee therein alſo a lyer, while truly deſcribing their perſons, ſhapes, markes, manners and geſtures, ſpeeches and the like, he falſely and lyingly addeth thereby a ſeeming or deceiuing neceſsity of their guilt, as if therein or thereby neceſarily inferred. The fallicy illuſion and the lyingly true reuelations of the Diuell, may by many examples be manifeſted. *Ianus Iacobus Boiſſardus in his tract. de Diuinatione Chap. 5.* reporteth an admirable ſtory of a noble Gentleman his familiar friend, and knowne vnto himſelfe. This man flying from his owne natiue Countrey for feare of puniſhment for a murther by him committed, and liuing in farre diſtant coaſts, deſired curiouſly to enquire what his wife was in his abſence doing, whom hee had (being very faire young and beautifull) married two monethes onely before his departure or voluntary exile. For this purpoſe he came vnto a Magitian liuing in the place of exile, who liuely deſcribed vnto him the true faſhion, building, and ornaments of his houſe where his wife in his abſence liued, her apparrell, countenance, & the like, as they were perfectly foreknowne vnto himſelfe. He farther expecting to learne what ſhe was at that preſent inſtant doing. The Magitian made knowne that there was then in her company a beautifull young

man with his hoſe or breeches about his heeles ſtanding neere or cloſe vnto her. Vppon the knowne truth of the *Magician* his firſt deſcription of his houſe and wife, the gentleman aſſuring himſelfe of the truth of the ſecond deſcription of ſeeming manifeſt adultrey in her, ſecretly ſtealeth home with an abſolute reſolution by murdering of her to be reuenged, & comming home by ſtealth neere vnto the place where his houſe & her dwelling was, by a ring (which as an infallible teſtimonie of her true loue ſhe had deliuered vnto him at his departure) he immediately cauſed her to come vnto him. Her kinde and louing intertainement ſo qualified and mollified his intended rage and fury, that he had patience firſt to confer with her, which before his ſight of her, he did not intende. After her conference he demaunded whether ſuch a day (naming the certaine day) ſhe did not weare apparrel of ſuch a colour and faſhion. She anſwered with wonder that it was true. He againe demaunded what that was which ſhe ſmothed and handled in her hand, and who that young man was which ſtood neere her with his hoſe about his heeles. She hereat amazed and perceauing the ſodaine change of a fierce and cruell looke in her husband, deſired him to be pacified and better informed. The young man was his owne brother who could witneſſe the truth thereof, and that which ſhe ſmoothed or ſtroked in her hand was a plaiſter which ſhe did ſmooth for him and applyed vnto his hip, where he had a very greiuous and painefull vlcer. This being found true, the husband ſorrowed for his bloudy intention, and deteſted the execrable and damnable Art of the *Magician*, and the foule lying truth of the Diuell. How foulely likewiſe many other men by theſe like darke and double dealing truthes, equiuocations, and amphobologies, haue beene deceaued conſulting with the diuell and his oracles may be by many other examples teſtified. The ſame Author mentioneth the oraculous reuelation by dreame preſented vnto the daughter of *Polycrates* of *Samos*. It was reuealed vnto her that her father ſhould be taken vp into heauen, be waſhed

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by *Iupiter* and annointed by the Sun. This after proued true but in a dreaming ſenſe. For *Polycrates* being ſurpriſed by *Orantes*, was hanged vp toward heauen vpon an high Croſſe, where *Iupiter* (that is the ayre) with his moiſture did waſh him, and the Sun melting his greaſe and the ſubſtance of his fleſh did ſo annoint him as was leaſt imagined or ſuſpected. *Plutarke* in the life of *Annibal* reporteth that *Annibal* conſulted with the oracle concerning his owne reſerued deſtiny or end. The oracle anſwered that *Libiſſa* land ſhould burie his corpes. Hereupon he preſumed that he ſhould returne into that his owne countrey and therein his old age die. He grewe therefore ſecure and careles. But ſhortly afterward being taken by the *Romanes* in a little obſcure village by the ſea coaſt called by the name of *Libiſſa*, he there grewe wearie of his life and poyſoned himſelfe in the Diuels truth: behold vntruth and deceipt. *Libiſſa* buried *Annibal*, but not *Libiſſa* by *Annibal* either knowne or poſſible to be imagined. Theſe examples are ſufficient whereby is plainely ſeen the dangerous deceitfull fallacy of the diuel euen where he ſpeaketh truth. Let vs now returne againe vnto our former miraculous prediction of the Diuell by the mouth of the bewitched concerning the cure of the bewitched by the touch of the ſuppoſed Witch. We may boldly affirme that in this caſe or in any other, if it were poſſible for the diuell to ſpeake the truth, truely, wholly, vnpartially; ſo as it might appeare plaine, euident, manifeſt; yet ought we not from him beleeue it or receiue it. This is in our bleſſed Sauiour made vndoubted, who in the Goſpell oft rebuked him euen ſpeaking truth, as alſo in S. *Paul* rebuking the Pythoniſſe, truely affirming, and acknowledging him the ſeruant and Miniſter of God. If the diuell then ſpeaking truth, may not be allowed or credited; how ſhall reuelations, miracles or oracles proceeding from him, be they neuer ſo true, or approued with any ſhew of true Religion or reaſon, become any iuſt probations or allegations in law, equity or iuſtice? it may be obiected, that many times men haue bin by dreames and viſions admoniſhed

shed of secret and concealed hideous murders, and other euill facts committed priuily, whereby the Malefactors and their guilt haue bin admirably produced vnto due punishment. This truth is euen by Heathen Authors witnessed, and in our time the like haue happned, and is testified by witnesses, whose faith and credit is free from all exception. Although this be true and cannot be denied, some reasons notwithstanding doe perswade that it is more safe to incline, to suspect that these like visions or dreames are rather of the Diuell, then rashly to determine or decree that they are immediately of God. First, for that though haply they might be sometimes so granted, yet ought we not too swiftly or sodainly so beleeue, for that by the liuely counterfait of the true visions, dreames and reuelations of God, the Diuell hath euer vsually practised to be taken and esteemed as God: the allowance whereof by men is high blasphemy against God, and ignorant occult adoration of Diuels. Secondly, for that no visions, dreames, or reuelations, ought to be esteemed of God, originally or immediately, which doe respect or answere curiositie of knowledge or desire, as most of the forementioned kinds vsually are wont. Thirdly, for that the visions of God, as they are euer bent vnto an extraordinary diuine end, and an vniuersall good, so are they euer dispensed by the ministery of men, who haue manifest commission, or warrant from God, either mediate, or immediate. The mediate is prooued by the manifestation of the meanes: the immediate, by the euident reflexion of a manifest diuinity, in the power and authority thereof. For as it is said of the word of God, *Heb.* 4. *verse* 12. so must it necessarily be concluded of all the true miracles, visions, or reuelations of God, that they are liuely, and mighty in operation.

This is seene in the miracles wrought by *Moses*, which the Sorcerers themselues could not deny to bee the finger of God, *Gen.* 8. *verse* 19. This is likewise seene in

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Simon Magus, who could not but acknowledge the miraculous power of the holy Ghoſt, by the laying on of the Apoſtles hands, ſo far forth that in the conſideration of his owne guilt, and of a conuincing power or deitie therein, he deſired them to pray for him.

The ſame is alſo witneſſed in the ſeruants of the high Prieſts who being ſent with wicked malice, and curſed preiudice to intrap and betray our Sauiour, were by the miraculous power of his word and workes compelled to proclaime and confeſſe; *No man euer ſpake like this man.* All theſe notes or markes, of the true viſions, dreames, or reuelations of God, are euer generally, or for the moſt part wanting in the forementioned kinds, which being neuer free from ſome ſuſpitious note of godly iealouſie, therefore ought not but with much doubt and difficulty be at any time admitted. It may bee as yet further obiected. How can it otherwiſe bee deemed, then that God himſelfe is the Author of the former reuelations, ſince they tend vnto his glory in the detecting and puniſhing of ſo hideous ſinnes? It is hereto anſwered, that Almighty God is able to vſe and command euill inſtruments vnto good ends. He hath ordained the Diuell himſelfe to be the common accuſer of all ſinnes and ſinners. It is therefore no inconuenience nor repugnant vnto religion or reaſon, to affirme, that the Diuell himſelfe, in the forementioned viſions or dreames, by the commandement or permiſſion of God, is the producer of the fore-mentioned murders, euill facts, vnto light and iudgement. God for his owne glory permitteth the Diuell by theſe his wonderfull reuelations, to detect the named ſinnes and ſinners. The Diuell alſo for his owne end, and deſire of their deſtruction, doth execute the Decree of God for their iuſt puniſhment.

But here may be obiected againe, that the Diuell in

in his reuelations (as is before mentioned) is not to be beleeued or credited, although he ſpake truth. How then may men be allowed, to admit or make vſe of theſe his viſions or dreames in this kinde.

It is hereto replyed, Almighty God himſelfe doth both permit and heare the Diuell when hee accuſeth, as is manifeſt by holy Scriptures. Therefore among men, and by men alſo, his accuſations may be heard and conſidered. Notwithſtanding, ſince hee is oft a falſe Accuſer, and the enemy of God and truth, hee may not bee credited in himſelfe, no nor truth it ſelfe ſimply as in his mouth. Vpon his accuſation therefore, if truth and certainety doe declare it ſelfe, the force and vertue thereof, and not the accuſation doth conduct, vpright men and minds, vnto proceeding and iudgement; it is not the Diuels accuſation, but the truth it ſelfe, vnto which haply that accuſation did point inquiſition, that by it ſelfe made manifeſt, is therefore credited.

And thus with breuity hath the vanity both of all ſuperſtitious, and alſo of all miraculous waies of the detection of Witches and Witch-craft, beene in ſome few of their particulars generally vnmasked. There are, and may bee many more beſides theſe, which in theſe, and with theſe, will likewiſe periſh and vaniſh, being by the ſame rule and reaſon compelled vnto the golden tryall of ſincere religion and affection.

The ſole, true and warranted way, wherein vprightly men may walke herein before God and men, hath beene in this Treatiſe formerly diſquired and diſcourſed. Therein (intelligent Reader) thou maiſt obſerue two ſorts of manifeſt Witches: The one is offered vnto the outward ſenſe, in his apparent and palpable Sorcerous workes: The other is made euident by plaine demonſtration out of the ſacred word

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of truth. It hath euer preuailed with vulgar cuſtome (becauſe moſt ſenſible of the moſt groſſe harmes more open to ſenſe) to caſt chiefely, or for the moſt part, the eye and common iealouſie vpon the firſt kinde. The other kinde (becauſe vſually leſt noted of ſenſe, and therefore eſteemed leaſt harmefull to men) is both in the iuſt protraction or production thereof vnto the barre of Iuſtice much more rare and ſeldome, and alſo in common and vulgar obſeruation is little or not at all conſidered.

Hence it proceedeth, that moſt men doe doubtfully reſolue thereof; Yea, ſome men admire a worth therein, others eſteeeme it of reaſonable and commendable vſe, vnto the ſatisfaction of their curioſities, in things ſecret and hidden from the knowledge of man.

But ſince Almighty God hath more ſpecially (as is in the former Treatiſe prooued) both giuen moſt certaine and plaine indication, and information of this kinde, by the expreſſed fruites thereof, and the neceſſary inference of familiarity and conſultation with other Spirits then himſelfe, *Iſaiah* 8. *verſe* 19. and hath alſo ſo oft in ſo diuers places iterated the great abomination, and his high deteſtation thereof, it is not onely the ſauing duety of all priuate men to take more diligent and wary notice thereof, thereby to eſchew and flye from it, according vnto Gods expreſſe charge and command; but it is the charge of Princes and Magiſtrates alſo, to fulfill thereby the commanded execution of Gods holy wrath and vengeance vpon it; for which pleaſing ſeruice and ſacrifice vnto him, Almighty God hath vpon the euerlaſting records of his holy word fixed for euer the ſo memorable praiſe, and commendation of thoſe famous Princes, who haue dedicated themſelues vnto his will therein. As it hath beene declared by

what meanes Witches and Sorcerers, in two kindes ſeuerally may be manifeſtly charged, challenged, and prooued as certaine and vndoubted Offendors: ſo alſo how farre preſumption probabilities, or matter of iuſt ſuſpition in both may blameleſly guide, and conduct vpright and equall inquiſition, hath beene briefely inſtanced. From all which it is euident: firſt, that God in nature hath not ſhut vp in this ſubiect, the common intrance and doore of iudging, trying or deciding as equally, as in other caſes: ſecondly, that beſide and beyond that way, which God hath left open vnto ſenſible and reaſonable progreſſe, herein it muſt neceſſarily bee prepoſterous preſumption to breake out, or ouer-reach, as alſo in ſteade of that plaine approoued and authentike walke for the tryalls of truth; the iudgement and condemnation of others, and the eſtabliſhment of mens owne thoughts, and mindes, to ſeeke irreligious footing, in the *Labyrinth* of amazing wonderments, and reaſonleſſe traditions and experiments. To walke in theſe waies, is no better then to runne away from God, in whom to truſt, though with ſome reſtraint, and coertion of our longing vaine deſires, and ſatisfactions, is truely farre more happy then out of the conduct of his allowance therein, to inioy the fulleſt meaſure or ouerflow of all the moſt obſequious influencies of humane bliſſe. If true religion and pietie could ſettle this conſideration, the common folly of miſgouerned, petulant, inordinate, and intemperate expatiations in this kinde, would not onely in priuate men more vſually bluſh and be aſhamed, but a more euen, ſtraight, and vninterrupted way, being prepared thereby vnto iuſtice, would vſually bring forth a much more happy iſſue, then now is ordinary. Thus farre the loue of truth, which I haue euer carefully ſought and ſtudied, hath offered violence

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vnto my priuate thoughts and meditations, expoſing them vnto the hazard of publike view.

As my labour is not loſt vnto my ſelfe, and my owne more confirmed ſatisfaction thereby: ſo if there be therein any good vnto the common good, I know, good men will not for the thorne, refuſe the fruite, for defect of elegance in ſtile, or obſcurity of worth in the Author, quarrell with the matter it ſelfe.

FINIS.